

The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship

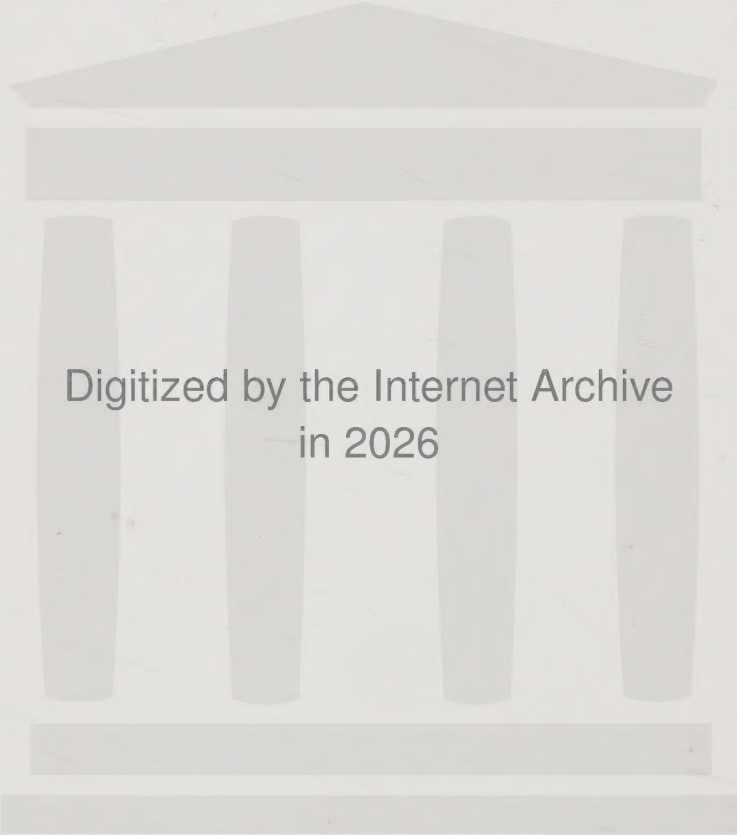
Thèse

présentée à la Faculté de théologie de
l'Université de Neuchâtel pour obtenir le grade de
docteur ès théologie
par

HUGHES OLIPHANT OLD



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Dissertation der Universität Neuenburg



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DEDICATED TO

My Father,
Shadburne Edward Old
And to the Memory of
My Mother,
Emma Coulter Oliphant Old

Who gave to me
both the resources and courage
to complete this study.



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It was in trying to fulfill my responsibilities as pastor of a Presbyterian Church in the farming country of Pennsylvania that I first became interested in the question of what worship according to the Reformed tradition should be. As I tried to search out the meaning of Reformed worship, I became more and more convinced that I must travel to those lands in which the Reformation had taken place, learn the languages the Reformers spoke and search the documents they left behind. So it was that I found myself living as a foreigner in Europe for almost seven years.

My first expression of gratitude should be directed to the professors at Neuchâtel who guided my work. Above all, I am indebted to my thesis advisor, Jean Jacques von Allmen, who seemed always to understand my restlessness and searching. He gave me what I most needed from a thesis advisor, an astounding quality of freedom. Philippe H. Menoud directed my New Testament studies. His paternal interest was a constant support and I respect him as one of my greatest teachers. Willy Rordorf, professor of Church history was truly a fraternal guide among the Fathers and he remains a valued friend.

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Hughes Oliphant Old

West Lafayette
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PREFACE

When John Calvin had the Genevan Psalter of 1542 published, he wrote into the title the claim that the form of worship contained in the psalter was "according to the custom of the ancient Church." Yet today one takes for granted that Reformed worship has neither interest nor precedent in the liturgical traditions of the patristic age. Some have charged the Reformers not only with an ignorance of the forms of worship practiced by the Church in its early centuries, but indifference to them as well. Liturgical scholars of other confessions, and even some Reformed liturgists have imagined that the doctrine of sola scriptura ruled out any interest in the liturgical traditions of the ancient Church. Little attempt, therefore, has been made to discover any patristic sources for Reformed worship. Nevertheless, Calvin did explicitly claim patristic roots for the liturgy of Geneva. In fact, this claim was often made by Calvin as well as other sixteenth-century Reformed theologians. The purpose of this work is to show that we have every reason to take Calvin seriously. We will try to show on what sources the Reformers based their understanding of the liturgical usage of the ancient Church. We will try to find which patristic sources were most influential on the liturgical reforms. Perhaps when we see the patristic sources which the Reformers used many of the features of Reformed worship will be more easily understood.

A work of this sort must make certain boundaries limiting its scope of research. The first limitation which we have made is that we have not concerned ourselves with evaluating the Reformers' interpretation of their sources. Today, such a consideration can be regarded as beside the point. Each generation must appropriate its tradition for itself. What is for us more interesting is to show that the early Reformed Church knew well the tradition of the ancient Church and valued it highly. The second limitation to be mentioned is the choice of the Genevan Psalter of 1542. We are concerned chiefly with explaining the patristic roots of the liturgical forms found in this psalter. This selection is justified by the fact that it can be regarded as a good culmination of the Reformed liturgical revisions which preceded it and at the same time the archetype of Reformed worship which followed it. The third limitation has been to restrict ourselves to the texts produced by Reformed Churches. We have not given prolonged study to the texts produced by Lutheran Churches.

This limitation we particularly regret; however, the basic independence of the two traditions, especially in liturgical matters, has been recognized since the work of Julius Smend over seventy years ago. We have never found any reason to question his conclusions in this matter. The fourth limitation concerns orthography. In most cases the editions of texts which we have used have meticulously reproduced both the inconsistencies of sixteenth-century spelling and the ingenuity of incunabular abbreviations. We hope our readers will be indulgent to the rather free approach we have used in these matters.

Chapter I

I. THE HISTORY OF REFORMED WORSHIP

1500-1542

Before we can begin our research on the question of whether the custom of the ancient Church can be considered a source of the Genevan Psalter of 1542, we must come to a certain clarity as to the historical evolution of the document. We might say that this document has three roots, a Scriptural root, a patristic root and an historical root. The subject of our work is the patristic root, and the main body of our work will be devoted to this subject. The Scriptural root was, of course, the main concern of the Reformers and therefore we cannot ever let it out of sight although it is not the subject of our inquiry. By way of introduction, our opening chapter will try to recount the history which led up to the framing of our document. We will try to give an account of some of the more important liturgical documents in which the forms and ideas behind the Genevan Psalter of 1542 first began to develop. We will begin by showing how the Genevan Psalter of 1542 must be traced back to the Catholic reform movement of the generation immediately before the Reformation. We will continue by showing how the Reformers of Basel, Strasbourg, and Zurich began by an attempt to revise the Roman Mass, but then after a year began to call for a more radical reform. We will give special attention to the major document of this call for a more radical liturgical reform, the *Grund und Ursach*, in order to show that far from calling for a revolt from apostolic tradition, the Reformers were engaged in a return to the sources. Primarily it was a return to the Scriptures, but the writings of the Fathers were read as witnesses to the purer forms of worship of the ancient Church. We will go on to see how in the following year the churches of Strasbourg, then Zurich and Constance and finally Basel began to institute the liturgical reforms called for in the *Grund und Ursach*. We will emphasize the basic similarity behind all these attempts at reform and we will also try to show that they are not basically motivated by a desire to express a so-called Zwinglian sacramental theology. We hope to show that the Reformers were far more interested in worshiping as God had commanded than in developing a ceremony that would express their theology. We shall see how after the establishing of certain basic types of liturgies these churches began to

exchange ideas through a series of meetings such as those of Bern, Augsburg, and Ulm. These meetings produced liturgies which benefited from the exchange of ideas between various Reformers. It seems to us that it was here that the patristic argument came into play, especially as the Reformers discussed among themselves what had been the practice of the ancient Church in regard to hymnody, the liturgical calendar, the Dismissal of the Unrepentant and the prayers of the liturgy. We shall go on to show how French-speaking Protestantism became part of this same liturgical reform and began to help shape it. Turning our attention to Strasbourg we shall look at the important liturgical revisions of 1537 and 1539 to see how the Church of Strasbourg revised its liturgy in light of the practice of its sister churches. Then we shall see how the French Church of Strasbourg took over this revised liturgy, adding to it certain aspects of the worship of the French-speaking churches Neuchâtel and Geneva and above all the French metrical psalms, and how finally Calvin, when he returned to Geneva, took this liturgy with him and adapted it to the Church of Geneva. In this chapter we wish to give an historical account of the liturgical development of the early Reformed Church. We wish to tell the story of both the men and the documents that shaped the Genevan Psalter of 1542.

A. PRE-REFORMATION ATTEMPTS TO SUPPLEMENT THE
ROMAN MASS

1. The Christian humanists' reform movement
of Southwest Germany¹

Before the Reformation began, along the banks of the upper Rhine and especially in the cities of Basel and Strasbourg, but also in the free imperial cities of Frankfurt, Constance, Ulm and Augsburg, in the universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen, and in the Latin schools of Sélestat and Pforzheim there was a strong movement for the reform of the Church. First there was the reform led by Jacob Wimpfeling who combined a literary humanism, a simple asceticism, and a stern criticism of both scholastic theology and monasticism. His criticism was enforced by a rigorous appeal to moral purity and a fervent Marian devotion. Wimpfeling had taught in Heidelberg, had lived in both Basel and Strasbourg and spent the last years of his life in Sélestat, his native city. His closest friend was Christoph von Utenheim who was for twenty-five years the bishop of Basel, and who tried over the opposition of the monastic orders to reform the Church of Basel. Johannes Geiler of Kaysersberg, the mystical preacher of Strasbourg whose great learning, personal piety and humorous preaching against the loose morals of all levels of society, gave not only Strasbourg but also the imperial court a moral leadership which earns him a place among the great preachers of the Christian Church. To the same group belonged

¹ Otto Herding, "Probleme des frühen Humanismus in Deutschland," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXXVIII (1956), 344-389.

H. Hermelink, *Die religiösen Reformbestrebungen des deutschen Humanismus* (Tübingen, 1907).

Henry S. Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation* (New York and London, 1934).

Bernd Moeller, "Die deutschen Humanisten und die Anfänge der Reformation," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LXX (1959).

Bernd Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation* (Gütersloh, 1962).

Luzian Pfleger, *Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg im Mittelalter* (Colmar, 1941).

Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963). (Hereinafter referred to as *Religious Renaissance*.)

Rudolf Wackernagel, *Humanismus und Reformation in Basel* (Basel, 1924), particularly pp. 81-94 and pp. 126-255.

Sebastian Brant, whose popular folk poem, *Das Narrenschiff* criticized both the religious and the irreligious practices of the day and lampooned manners, politics and liturgical usage with equal wit. Johann Ulrich Surgant, also a born Alsatian, studied in Paris before taking up a thirty-year ministry at St. Theodore's Church in Basel. At the University of Basel he was professor of canon law. There he did an effective job of working for the improvement of the ministry. He might perhaps be considered one of the first professors of practical theology. He was a fast friend of both Wimpfeling and Brant.

This was a reform movement that was completely loyal to the institution of the Roman Church. Surgant and Geiler died before the Reformation but Wimpfeling lived to see his disciples leading the Reformation; Matthäus Zell was preaching against the mass in Strasbourg and in Basel Oecolampadius was attacking Marian devotions. Even the director of his own Sélestat Latin School, Johannes Sapidus, had gone over to the Reformation as well as its most famous pupil, Martin Bucer. The Reformation was a source of great sorrow to Wimpfeling and his rejection of it remained uncompromised by his personal ties with its leaders. In 1527 Christoph von Utenheim died at a great age seeing with regret his city of Basel being carried away by the Reformation. Sebastian Brant, as imperial counselor, remained loyal to the religious policy of the emperor. These men were not pre-Reformation Protestants of the type of John Hus or John Wycliff. They were men who brilliantly and devotedly tried to reform the Church by means of the structure which was then in existence.

Sometimes the reform movement has been referred to as "Alsatian Christian Humanism." This is not altogether correct because one must include within the sphere, the cities of Switzerland and such Swabian cities as Ulm and Augsburg. The universities of Basel, Heidelberg and Tübingen certainly played a part. It has been called the "Wimpfeling Reform" but it was much broader than one man, although this title serves to distinguish it clearly from the Christian Humanism of Erasmus¹. However, it is precisely in its local

¹ The character of Wimpfeling does, in fact, illustrate the difference between the circle of men which concern us and other circles of humanism. This is not only the case for the Erasmus circle but for the Nuremberg circle as well. As opposed to Erasmus and Pirckheimer, Wimpfeling was little influenced by Italian Humanism. The Dutch mysticism of the Brethren of the Common Life was much more influential on Wimpfeling. Through the Sélestat Latin School the practical piety of the *Devotio moderna* had exercised a

character that we see one of its great distinctions from the humanism of Erasmus. Erasmus was equally at home in Basel, Cambridge, Paris, Louvain or Venice. His circle included Thomas More and John Colet as well as William Budé, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Wolfgang Capito and John Oecolampadius. Wimpfeling and Brant had strong nationalist tendencies. The great care which Geiler and Surgant gave to vernacular preaching and the prayers which Brant translated into German went a long way in developing the German language. Erasmus was interested only in the purification of Latin and spreading the knowledge of Greek. It might best be called "German Christian Humanism" even if in fact the movement was limited to the Southwest of Germany and even if today the Alsacians think of themselves as French and the Swiss understand themselves to be a separate people¹.

This movement, however, opened itself to the more international humanism of Erasmus, even if it felt obliged to accept him as a true German². Wimpfeling had prepared the way for a serious study of the classical writers of Christian antiquity. Bishop Christoph eagerly took Erasmus under his protection. The city of Basel was well prepared to assist Erasmus in his renaissance of Christian Latin and Biblical Greek. There was the highly developed printing industry, and especially the careful craftsmanship of the houses of Johannes Froben and Andreas Cratander. There were younger scholars who because of the work of Wimpfeling and his circle were ready and enthusiastic assistants for Erasmus. Among these were Beatus Rhenanus and Oecolampadius who helped Erasmus publish his Greek New Testament and his editions of the Church Fathers. In return Erasmus regarded Christoph von Utenheim as a model bishop³.

strong influence in the Upper Rhine. Cf., Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance, a History of the "Devotio moderna"*, (2nd ed.; Hamden, Conn., 1965). It is to be regretted that Spitz has given such an unsympathetic picture of Wimpfeling. *The Religious Renaissance*, pp. 41-60.

¹ The proper recognition of the meaning of this circle has been complicated unduly by modern nationalism. One detects for instance in the book of Waldenmaier, a work which we shall often have occasion to quote, a desire to dismiss Reformed tendencies in South Germany as an alien "Swiss influence." The two works of Bernd Moeller quoted above have done much to clear up the matter.

² Johan Huizinga, *Erasmus*, trans. by Werner Kaegi (4th ed.; Basel, 1951), 100-101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

One must make, however, another clear distinction between the humanism of Erasmus and German Christian Humanism. Erasmus was not a mystic¹. He was a grammarian whose rather cold objectivity could never allow him to commit himself to a cause. But the German Christian Humanists were at the same time mystics. They were scholars to be sure, but they were praying and preaching scholars. If one might be allowed a visual reference, they were men who still moved in the world of Mathias Grünewald and Hans Holbein the Elder. They had not yet crossed into the world of Hans Holbein the Younger. They were more theist than humanist². Like Erasmus they were interested in returning to the sources but much more than Erasmus they strove to return to the Source.

In all it must be said that the cities of southern Germany and above all the cities of Basel and Strasbourg had benefited from a generation of excellent spiritual leadership under such men as Geiler, Wimpfeling, Brant, von Uttenheim and Surgant. We can agree with Moeller that the free imperial cities of southern Germany approached the Reformation with a high level of spiritual and intellectual culture³.

Let us now turn to the liturgical reforms of this circle.

¹ Johan Huizinga, Erasmus, trans. by Werner Kaegi (4th ed.; Basel, 1951), pp. 115, 149 and 155.

² We find it hard to agree with those who would restrict the meaning of Humanism to its literary aspects. Naturally, we want to heed the warning of L. Spitz against a too narrow definition of Humanism as either, "a philosophical point of view which refers all truth and all knowledge to man" on the one hand or "as an interest in classical antiquity" on the other hand. The concern with classical authors was as much with their attitude toward life as with their literary style. As Spitz puts it, the humanists were, "... concerned with the humane content of antique letters and their relevance to life, not merely with outward form." Religious Renaissance, pp. 4-6. (For the relation of philosophical humanism to literary humanism see further pp. 108, 211, 239 and 277). Nevertheless, H. Lucas is not far from wrong when he says, "Hence at the close of the Middle Ages there were two hostile points of view: the ascetic other-worldly attitude and the new Humanism which emphasized man's life in this world." H. Lucas, The Renaissance and the Reformation, p. 193.

³ Moeller, Reichsstadt und Reformation, 17, 61-62.

2. Johannes Ulrich Surgant's Manuale curatorum¹

Julius Smend in 1896 and more recently Fritz Schmidt-Clausing have called our attention to the importance of Johann Ulrich Surgant's *Manuale curatorum* for the worship of the Reformed Church². This remarkable pastors' manual is a book on techniques of offering a more effective ministry. But it is far more, because it grounds its practical theology on the principles of canon law and on the classical doctrine of the ministry to be found in Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* and Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. According to a recent study of the relation of the *Manuale curatorum* to its medieval antecedents by Dorothea Roth, it is both a final climax and a good summary of medieval preaching theory. It is the result of a growing appreciation of the sermon as a means of church reform³. The work received an immediate popularity. In little more than ten years it went through at least four editions in Basel. It was reprinted in Strasbourg, Mainz and Augsburg as well⁴. Bishop Christoph von Utenheim in the diocesan synod of 1503 had it made required reading for those priests charged with the pastoral care of churches⁵.

A major portion of the work is devoted to preaching. The author has in mind not only preaching in the context of the mass, but the preaching services which on Sunday or feast days were held either in the afternoon or at another time than the celebration of mass. This type of service has sometimes been called *prone*. The preaching services had become a much beloved tradition in

¹ Johann Ulrich Surgant, *Manuale curatorum predicandi prebens modum: tam latino quam vulgari sermone; practice illuminatum: cum certis alliis ad curam; animarum pro-tinentibus: omnibus curatis tam conducibilis quam salubris* (Basel: Michael Furter, 1503). (Hereinafter referred to as *Manuale curatorum*).

² Julius Smend, *Die evangelischen deutschen Messen bis zu Luthers Deutsche Messe* (Göttingen, 1895), 153-155, 226-228, 246. (Hereinafter referred to as *Evangelischen deutschen Messen*).

Fritz Schmidt-Clausing, "Johann Ulrich Surgant, ein Wegweiser des jungen Zwingli," *Zwingliana*, XI (1961), 287-320. (Hereinafter referred to as "Johann Ulrich Surgant.")

³ Dorothea Roth, *Die Mittelalterliche Predigttheorie und das Manuale curatorum des Johannes Ulrich Surgant* (Basel, 1956), 149.

⁴ Schmidt-Clausing, "Johann Ulrich Surgant", 298.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 298-306

the church life of the imperial free cities of southern Germany toward the end of the fifteenth century. They were usually conducted by specially appointed priests and were supported by special endowments. The preachers were expected to have a high level of preparation. Often they were required to have a doctorate in theology. It was just such a position which Geiler served with such brilliance in Strasbourg. These endowed preachers were for the most part the best educated and most capable clergymen of the region and exercised enormous influence over the cities. In later years we find Wolfgang Capito occupying such a position at the cathedral of Basel. Zwingli held a similar position in Zurich, Oecolampadius in Augsburg, Hedio in Mainz and Zell in Strasbourg. Surgant does not direct his work only at the endowed preachers who were responsible for holding the special preaching services. He was concerned with all those who as pastors of churches were responsible for the spiritual growth of a community, and who realized that a more comprehensive ministry must be given than the simple saying of a Latin mass. As Surgant reminds his readers the diocesan synod had required that sermons explaining the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were regularly to be preached in all parishes of the diocese. His book would be of help for those who wished to fulfill this obligation¹.

The *Manuale curatorum* without doubt comes out of the experience of a theologian who put a high value on these preaching services. Certainly his work helped greatly in forming them. Nowhere, however, does the author give us an order of service for prone. There was no order of service for prone, and that was why it was such an effective instrument in church reform. Because it was not an official service, it could be in German. It could be used as a catechetical tool for teaching to the faithful the Creed, the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, which so many sources tell us were unknown by many laymen during the Middle Ages. On the occasion of such sermons, the preacher would have his listeners repeat the Commandments or the Creed or the Lord's prayer, not for liturgical purposes, but simply to teach them to the people. These preaching services could be held before the celebration of mass to prepare the people to enter more intelligently into the liturgy either by explaining part of the mass or the festival of the Christian year being celebrated or

¹ Surgant, *Manuale curatorum*, fol. 1xxx^r.

recounting the life of a saint being commemorated. On such an occasion the Ave Maria, a general confession of sin or a prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church" might be used. We should remember, however, that these services had not yet received any fixed order; it was all left to the discretion of the preacher.

A good part of the *Manuale curatorum* is concerned with what might be called extra-liturgical prayer. Chapter XII of book one, *De invocatione divini auxilii*, suggests a short prayer before the sermon asking God's help in proclaiming his Word. Chapter IV of book two, *De exhortatione ad orandum pro omni statu ecclesie*, gives directions for guiding the faithful to offer prayers of intercession. Chapter VI of book two, *De confessione generali et publica*, concerns a non-sacramental prayer of confession of sin, a German text for which is included. These extra-liturgical prayers were quite necessary because the great majority of Christians could not follow the Latin prayers of the mass and so they had to be given their own prayers to say while the priest was saying his. This of course was the case with the general confession given in the *Manuale curatorum*. Surgant names three places where it can be used: at the preaching service, as the Confiteor before mass, or just before taking communion¹. It is a prayer of preparation for the liturgy, not a properly liturgical prayer². The Prayer of Intercession found in most Reformed liturgies is often traced to Surgant's *Manuale curatorum*. It should be clearly seen, however, that the *Manuale curatorum* does not offer a formula of prayer but a list of things for which one should pray.

We are not wishing to minimize the importance of Surgant and the *Manuale curatorum* to the history of the Reformed liturgies. To be sure, the saying of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed are to find a place in the liturgies of the Reformed Churches. In the Reformed liturgy we will find many features found already in the work of Surgant. There is a general prayer of confession, general intercessions, and an invocation of divine help. The point we want to make however, is that all these things in the work of Surgant are outside of the liturgy. They are meant

¹ Ibid., fol. lxxxvi^v.

² Ibid., fol. lxxxliii^r.

to supplement and make more effective a liturgy which was not understood and was not to change.

3. The Hortulus animae

A second way of supplementing the mass was by the use of prayer books which were designed to be used by the layman during mass. The most famous of these was the *Hortulus animae*, translated into German by Sebastian Brant¹. These prayer books were not missals which might enable the faithful to pray the mass with the priest but collections of prayers to be said privately while the priest was saying his prayers at the altar. These prayer books usually contained a liturgical calendar and a short life of each of the saints celebrated. A good part of the book was taken up with Marian devotions, the penitential psalms were included, and there were private prayers for all sorts of occasions. Of special importance, however, were the prayers to be said by laymen during the celebration of mass.

One group of these prayers, the *Orationes ante communionem*, is made of prayers of supplication for the graces necessary to receive the sacrament as well as the petition that one might receive the graces given by the sacrament itself. One prays to be worthy to receive the Bread of Angels, one asks for the necessary enlightenment of mind and purity of life. The venerable Sacrament is implored through his presence to exclude the presence of all

¹ *Hortulus animae*, der selen gärtlin wurde ich gñent von dem latein man mich noch kennt. Zu Strassburg in Seym vatterlant hat mich Sebastianus Brant Besehen und vorst corrigirt. Zu tutschen auch vil transferiert, (Strasbourg: J. Wähinger, 1502). There are almost thirty other editions of the *Hortulus animae* which were printed between 1498 and 1523, for the most part in Strasbourg, but also in Augsburg, Basel, and Ulm. Cf., article in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, IV, 488. (Hereinafter referred to as *LThK.*) Herman Beck, *Erbauungsliteratur der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (Erlangen, 1883), especially pp. 21-27; Franz Falk, *Die deutschen Mess-Auslegungen von der Mitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1525* (Cologne, 1889).

evil¹. The *Orationes post sacram communionem* are in many ways quite similar. For the most part they are concerned that the graces of communion take effect. Several of the prayers express the hope that the sacrament has not been received unto judgment but rather unto salvation. One prayer is addressed to the Virgin, who was worthy to carry in her body the creator of all, that she might intercede for the worshiper who has just received that same creator into his own body². These prayers would, of course, undergo many profound changes before we find them in Protestant liturgical books. Nevertheless, it is essentially these two prayers, in which the Catholic reformers tried to express the prayer of the faithful before and after the Communion, that would be recast by the Protestant Reformers. The dogmatic content would be that of the Reformers, to be sure, but the same liturgical molds would remain³.

There is, of course, much in the *Hortulus animae* which seems strange to a twentieth-century Protestant, but one must recognize that it was an honest attempt to help worshipers. The popularity of the *Hortulus animae* shows that it was helpful to the faithful of the generation before the Reformation.

4. Postils and Plenariums

While the *Hortulus animae* was primarily concerned with prayers to be said at worship, the postils and plenariums gave attention to the passages of Scripture read in the mass. Originally these books had not much more than

¹ We have had the pleasure of inspecting a beautifully illuminated copy of Sebastian Brant's *Hortulus animae* in the University Library of Basel. For practical reasons we had to base our study on the following Latin edition: *Hortvlvs animae cvm horis diuae virginis iuxta ritum ecclesiae Romanae* (Basel: Thomas Wolf, 1522), fol. 121^{r-v}.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 123^{r-v}.

³ In another chapter we shall see how the Reformed Communion Invocation is also developed from certain prayers of the mass as well as being strongly influenced by patristic and exegetical studies. This Post-Communion Thanksgiving has much more important roots in exegetical and patristic sources but the prayers of the *Hortulus animae* should not be overlooked.

a German translation of the Gospel and Epistle for each Sunday of the year. A postil published at Strasbourg in 1488 by Thomas Anselm of Baden offered in addition the Introit and the Collect. The Basel Plenarium of 1514 went even further¹. We find the German translation of the Introit, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Gospel, a sermon on each Gospel, Offertory Psalm, Secreta, and Communion Psalm. The first mass in the book translates the Nicene Creed. However, we do not find a translation of the Eucharistic Prayer. The Sanctus and the Agnus Dei are translated but we do not find either the Proper Preface or the Canon in translation. The Strasbourg Plenarium of 1517 provided each Gospel with a sermon by Johannes Geiler of Kaysersberg². There were many editions of the Plenariums, and Postils. The basic purpose behind all of them was to get the Word of God to the common man who could read but who could not read Latin. As the preface of the Basel plenarium of 1514 tells us, this book was to provide the faithful who attended the mass with spiritual food³.

It is to this Catholic liturgical reform movement that we wish to trace the liturgy of the Reformed Church. This liturgical reform movement tried to work through a series of supplementary services and through supplementary literature. It did not try to change the structures of the official liturgy but rather it tried to maintain the old liturgy while cultivating extraliturgical devotions⁴.

¹ Das Plenarium oder Ewangelybuoch: Summer und Winterteyl durch dz gantz iar in ieden Sontag von der Zeyt und von den Heiligen (Basel: Adam Petri, 1514).

² Evangelia mit auslegung Des hochgelerte Doctor Keiserpergs: und uss dem plenarium und sunst vil guter exemple Nutzlich. Summer und Wintter theil durch dz gantz iar (Strasbourg: J. Grieniger, 1517).

³ Ibid., fol. ii^r.

⁴ Certain Reformed writers such as Maxwell have hesitated to accept this obvious fact, fearing perhaps that it would imply that Reformed worship is not really "liturgical." Maxwell, in ignoring the obvious relation of Reformed worship to these extraliturgical devotions has failed to understand an important aspect of the liturgical reforms of the 16th century. By the beginning of the Reformation, the mass had already lost many essential elements of a Christian liturgy. Nevertheless, these elements were not lost to the experience of late medieval Christians, because what had fallen out of the mass had appeared in other places. This often happens in the Church. The Eastern Orthodox Church seems to be the only church which tries to live by its liturgy alone. The rest of us must have discussion groups about Christian ethical

B. ATTEMPTS AT REVISING THE ROMAN MASS¹

Although we have a few attempts at celebrating some sort of revised or "Evangelical" version of the mass as early as 1522², it was not until the publication of three documents toward the end of 1523, the *De canone missae epichiresis* of Zwingli, *Das Testament Jesu Christi* of Oecolampadius and the *Formula missae* of Luther, that liturgical revision really got under way. It is against the background of these three documents that the first German masses celebrated at Strasbourg must be seen³. Of the three none is, strictly speaking, a liturgy. Let us look at these three documents before we turn our attention to the Strasbourg German Mass, which we shall finally study as the practical liturgical application of the first three documents.

questions, Wednesday evening prayer meetings, Sunday school, religious concerts, and pastoral counseling by special appointment with the minister. Much of these things are of course quite valuable, but to a large extent they are only necessary because we insist on celebrating the liturgy in not more than an hour's time. In the first decades of the sixteenth century a similar disintegration of the liturgy had reached an advanced stage. The ministry of praise was left to the office, Church discipline was left to the confessional, the mass had almost no pedagogical value which made the development of extraliturgical preaching most necessary. What the Reformers had to do was to put back into the liturgy what had fallen out. Cf., William D. Maxwell, *The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book* used by John Knox while a Minister of the English Congregation of Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1556-1559 (2nd. ed.; London, 1965), p. 33. (Hereinafter referred to as *Genevan Service Book*).

¹ The book of Julius Smend, *Die evangelischen deutschen Messen bis zu Luthers Deutschen Messe* (Göttingen, 1896), mentioned above is a book which even today, seventy years later, is hard to improve upon. Most of the texts which we will discuss in this chapter section are to be found in Smend.

² A full account of these celebrations is given in Smend. We point to the following by way of illustration only: Johannes Schwebel of Pforzheim at Ebernburg Castle in 1522 (Smend p. 71), Wolfgang Wissenburg in the Basel Spital sometime in 1522 (Smend pp. 4-5) and Kaspar Kantz, the prior of Nördlingen, sometime in 1522 (Smend pp. 72-94).

³ We understand the term "German mass", in a technical way, to mean a celebration of a mass in the common tongue which may be either a literal translation or the translation of a revised version of the mass. The term designates a particular approach to liturgical reform.

1. De canone missae epichiresis

In this document Zwingli gives us a thoroughgoing doctrinal, literary and historical criticism of the mass¹. The work was produced under pressure of the printer in only four days although it was in fact the result of a more profound critical study of the mass probably made before 1516 in Glarus. Within a few days after it was printed, it was introduced at the Frankfurt Book Fair which assured it an almost immediate circulation throughout the intellectual world.

Toward the end of this work Zwingli gives us an outline of how the mass might be revised². The mass of the catechumens is essentially unchanged. The Introits can be used in so far as they are taken from Scripture, and he makes no revision of the Kyrie eleison, the Gloria and the collects. The Scripture lessons should, however, be read in German and difficult passages should be explained. On Sundays and holy days somewhat more time can be given to their exposition³. As Zwingli, who was a fairly competent musician, sees it, the Gradual and the Allelujah would be more acceptable if the musical settings were not so complicated. The sermon is followed by the Nicene Creed. The Offertory is completely left out, which of course constitutes one of Zwingli's more important innovations. The Creed is therefore followed by the Sursum corda, Preface and Sanctus. What he does with the Canon is of particular importance. Instead of just leaving it out as we will see Luther doing, he replaces it with a new Canon. This Canon begins with a recounting of the Creation and Fall of man, the promise of a savior in the Old Testament, the Incarnation through the Virgin Mary and the sacrifice of the Lamb of God who has given himself to us as food and drink⁴. A doxology leads to the Lord's

¹ Editions of the text are to be found in *Corpus reformationum* (Berlin, 1834- ; Leipzig, 1906-), LXXXIX, 601-608. (Hereinafter referred to as CR.) Fritz Schmidt-Clausen, *Zwingli's Kanonversuch* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1969); the Latin text of the Eucharistic Prayer is to be found in Smend, pp. 192-194; for Smend's commentary on the work see pp. 201-204.

² CR, LXXXIX, 603.

³ CR, LXXXIX, 603.

⁴ That the Eucharistic Prayer should have given thanks for the Resurrection or the Ascension does not seem to have occurred to very many theologians of the 16th century, regardless of their confessional connections. One happy exception in this matter was John Knox. Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland, 1961), pp. 303-304. (Hereinafter referred to as LWC).

Prayer. The Lord's Prayer is followed by three prayers of supplication in which God is asked to nourish us with heavenly food, to strengthen us through his Word, to make us alive through his Spirit, and to give us strength that we might overcome this world and enter into this feast prepared before us where Christ is both host and food. The Words of Institution follow, then the Communion. The service is concluded by a collect of thanksgiving, the Nunc dimittis and the Benediction¹.

This revision of the Roman Mass is primarily motivated by theological considerations. First, all prayers which ask the intercession of the Virgin or the saints are removed. Secondly, all that which made the mass into a sacrifice has been taken out. Most of the mass is still said in Latin and the liturgical vestments are retained. To a theologian these changes are indeed profound; to a ceremonialist they are moderate.

2. Das Testament Jesu Christi²

This work of Oecolampadius is not a liturgy nor is it primarily a suggested liturgy. It is a private prayerbook meant for the hands of Evangelical laymen attending mass. One might call it a Protestant Hortulus animae. While the prayer book of Brant and the plenariums were meant for the hands of Roman Catholic laymen to help them follow the mass with profit, Das Testament Jesu Christi was meant to help worshipers of Protestant leaning to follow the mass with equal benefit³. In many respects it is a translation of the mass for Maunday Thursday⁴. This, of course, was one of the few masses in the year at which the faithful were expected to communicate. It would

¹ CR, LXXXIX, 608.

² Das Testament Jesu Christi, das man byszher genent hat dye Messz, verteutscht durch Joannem Oecolampadion Ecclesiasten zu Adelburg zu heyl allen Euangelischen (Erfurt: Wolfgang Stürmer, 1523). Smend lists eight editions between 1523 and 1524. He provides a critical edition of the text, followed by an analysis of the work. Smend, Evangelischen deutschen Messen, pp. 51-71.

³ Smend, Evangelischen deutschen Messen, p. 70.

⁴ Ibid., 57.

be natural that one would make special effort to make this mass meaningful to the faithful who were of Evangelical tendencies.

From beginning to end *Das Testament* assumes the liturgical form of the mass. In place of the Canon, however, we find a series of prayers which Oecolampadius finds more suitable for Evangelical Christians. First we have a prayer of self oblation, asking God to accept the gift of our souls and bodies, which God himself has created, and that he sanctify them through his divine grace¹. The prayer continues with a very free paraphrase of the whole of the story of the institution of the Lord's Supper according to Luke. After the Canon we find a collect that God should not regard the sin of the worshiper but the faith of the Church. A third prayer confesses faith in the presence of Christ in the sacrament, in the Incarnation of the Son of God for the redemption of man and in the sacrificial death of the Savior of the world². The prayer then turns to the testament or covenant which Christ has given us in this Holy Supper and gives thanks to God that we have been included in the covenant. For the Communion Hymn we find Isaiah 53 after which the liturgy is ended with a short collect and the Dismissal.

As yet we see only faint indications of the liturgical forms which we will find characteristic of Reformed worship in the coming years. *Das Testament* is interesting, however, because already we find in it a clear statement of several positive aspects of Reformed sacramental theology. Like the attempts of both Zwingli and Luther, it tries to change the inner theology of the celebration while leaving the outward liturgical form essentially intact. Unlike the negative approach of Zwingli and Luther, Oecolampadius gives us some fresh insights into the meaning of the Lord's Supper. For Oecolampadius what happens at the Lord's Supper is the making of a covenant. It is our Lord who gives it and his people who accept it. We accept it by sharing a meal with our Lord and with our brethren in Christ. But also *Das Testament* is interesting because it shows the link between the forms of devotion developed by the fifteenth-century Catholic reformers, particularly the prayers of the *Hortulus animae*, and the forms of worship developed by the Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century.

¹ Ibid., 55.

² Ibid., 56.

3. Formula missae¹

Luther's Formula missae is not a liturgy any more than the other two documents, but a rather free description of how an Evangelical liturgy might be ordered. Some of the suggestions represent changes which had already come about in the Church of Wittenberg while others remain in the realm of suggestions for future reforms. Essentially the Church of Wittenberg continued to celebrate the mass until the end of 1525.

Luther, like Zwingli, saw little need to change the liturgy of the catechumens. It might be better to substitute German psalms for the Introits, but there was nothing wrong with using the old Introits. Most of the traditional songs of the mass were to be retained, the Kyrie eleison, Gloria, the Gradual and the Alleluia. The Sequences, however, are to be discontinued². The traditional lectionary of Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays of the Christian year are retained but with a certain hesitation. As for the place of the sermon, Luther hesitates between a place before the mass or after the creed. Strangely enough, some of the innovations which Luther contemplates were to be accepted by the Reformed Church but rejected by the Lutheran Church.

The liturgy of the Supper, however, undergoes radical changes. The Offertorium is completely eliminated. The introductory dialogue to the Eucharistic Prayer is kept, but then the whole Canon is removed except for the Words of Institution. After the Words of Institution, the Sanctus and Benedictus are to be sung. The minister is to pronounce the Pax which is followed by the Agnus Dei. The congregation receives the communion in both kinds. During the Communion the traditional chants may be used. Luther lists several ap-

¹ Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Vuittembergensi in D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar, 1891), Vol. XII, pp. 197-220. An English translation with introductory study is found in Thompson, LWC, pp. 95 - 122.

² Jungmann tells us that the Sequence was a type of hymn that was particularly in favor in Northern Europe in the late Middle Ages. With the liturgical reform of Pope Pius V shortly after the Reformation, the Sequence was removed from the Roman Mass. There were a few exceptions such as the Victimae paschali laudes of Easter and the Dies irae of the requiem mass. Josef Andreas Jungmann, Missarum Sollemnia, eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe (5th ed.; Vienna, Freiburg and Basel, 1962), I, 557-562. (Hereinafter referred to as MS).

propriate Post-communion Prayers and suggests that the final Benediction might be taken from Numbers 6 or Psalm 67, although the customary Benediction he finds acceptable.

Luther would like to retain the Latin chants, but at the same time he would like to have as many German hymns as possible. He suggests that the German songs be sung immediately after the Latin or else that the German and the Latin be sung on alternate days.

Luther's reform of the calendar is primarily motivated by his rejection of the doctrine of the intercession of the saints. The Lord's Day is, of course, retained as are the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Nativity, Circumcision and Epiphany, as well as Purification and the Annunciation which are to be regarded as pertaining to Christ. The seasons of the Christian year are also to be observed. All the saints' days including those of the Apostles and the Virgin are to be discontinued.

The basically similar approach of Luther and Zwingli is easy to recognize. The fact that Luther's suggestions are more radical than Zwingli's is probably to be accounted for by the fact that his suggestions followed Zwingli's by several months, for in 1523 theological ideas were developing rapidly.

4. The Strasbourg German Mass of 1524¹

On February 16, 1524, an assistant of Matthäus Zell, Diebold Schwarz, took it upon himself to celebrate in German a revised version of the mass and

¹ Friedrich Hubert, *Die Strassburger liturgischen Ordnungen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen, 1900). (Hereinafter referred to as *Liturgischen Ordnungen*). Hubert lists five editions of the Strasbourg German Mass: A¹, A², A³, A⁴, and B. His critical edition of the text is based on these five editions plus the original manuscript used by Schwarz. Hubert gives a description of the editions on pp. xi and xii, his edition of the text on pp. 57-77, and an introduction to the text on pp. lxi-lxviii. The titles of the editions vary from edition to edition more significantly than do the actual liturgical texts. There is one exception and that is B, which according to Smend was an attempt of Nikolaus Gerbel to bring the Strasbourg liturgy into harmony with Luther and Kantz. Smend, *Evangelischen deutschen Messen*, pp. 152-154.

to administer communion in both kinds. Matthäus Zell had been preaching against the Roman Mass for some time, and so Schwarz's celebration, resting on his own initiative as it did and daring as it was, cannot be regarded as unnatural. Schwarz's mass evidently met the approval of the reform-minded members of the clergy of Strasbourg, because within a year's time five editions of it were printed¹. Since there is little variation between these services, they can be studied together².

The mass begins with the invocation, "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." Then the last verse of Psalm 100 is quoted as an invitation to prayer. A Confiteor is said, but instead of the traditional Absolution, I John 1:9 and Mark 9:24b are quoted. The priest then goes to the altar and turns to the people. He quotes Psalm 124:8, "Our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth." The Introit follows with its Gloria patri. The Kyrie eleison has been reduced to the three-fold arrangement rather than the nine-fold version. Each of the Greek phrases is followed by the German phrase, a way of singing this chant which was already in use before the Reformation. The traditional versicle introduces the Collect which is a supplication that the congregation might receive the grace of faith. The Epistle and Gospel follow but the Gradual has disappeared³. Perhaps there was a sermon after the reading of the Gospel but this is not clear from the text. The Nicene Creed follows. The Offertory is completely removed⁴. Instead of the Offertory there is a short admonition to prayer asking God to "send us the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, that he make our body into a living, holy and well-pleasing sacrifice, for this is the reasonable service which pleases God"⁵.

¹ As we have already said, the titles differ from edition to edition but the title of the third edition can be regarded as typical: *Ordenung vnd inhalt Teutscher Mess so yetzung im gebrauch haben Ewangelisten vnd Christlichen Pfarrherrn zu Straszburg* (n.p., n.n. 1524).

² We are at a loss to understand why Maxwell, *Genevan Service Book*, p. 27, speaks of them as "five orders." One might speak of B as being a second order, but aside from that we have different editions of one order.

³ The German Mass of Nikolas Gerbel is an exception to this.

⁴ Maxwell, *Genevan Service Book*, p. 26, would like to blame the removal of the Offertory on Luther. This is one liturgical revision, however, about which all the Reformers were in agreement.

⁵ *Lieben brüder vnd schwestern, bitten got, den vatter, durch vnsern herrn Jesum Christum, das er vns den heyligen geyst, den tröster zuschicke, das er mache vnser leyb zu einem lebendigen, wolgefälligen opffer, das ist der vernünftigt gotsdienst, der gott gefällt, das beschee vns allen, amen.* Hubert, *Liturgischen Ordnungen*, p. 64.

Asking that the people pray for him while he is performing the service, the priest begins the Eucharistic Prayer with the introductory dialogue. We notice that only the words for the priest appear in the text. The responses for the faithful do not appear. The Preface, Sanctus and the Benedictus follow in their accustomed order. As a substitute for the Canon we find a very simple prayer of intercession which is concerned with the Christian congregation in a Christian city presided over by the Christian magistrate¹. The Words of Institution are recited, followed by a prayer of thanksgiving that God in his grace has given us the sacrament as a sign of his mercy toward us. The Lord's Prayer is said, followed by the Pax and the Agnus dei. Directly before the Communion there is a short exhortation and the sacrament is received in both kinds.

In addition we should note that the altar is still in use, not yet having been replaced by a communion table and therefore we still find the priest turning toward first the one and then the other. There is no evidence that candles have yet been removed from the altar. The sign of the cross is still used for the Absolution and three times for the Benediction at the end of the service. The ceremony of washing the priest's hands is still observed as well as the elevation of the bread and the cup.

The Strasbourg German Mass of 1524 is not, as Maxwell claims, an almost literal translation of the mass². It is a heavily revised version of the mass. The heart of the mass which is the Canon has been completely rewritten in such a way that a Roman Catholic would have difficulty recognizing that it was supposed to be a revision of his liturgy. Whether one is justified in calling it a mass or not is an open question³, but what is clear is that for the most part it is no more than a negative reaction to the mass. We might call it an expurgated mass. All mention of the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice has been cut from the text as well as all mention of the saints, or the cult of the Virgin. With this, needless to say, Zwingli, Oecolam-

¹ The prayer is an interesting reflection on how one understood the Christian community in an imperial free city at the end of the Middle Ages.

² Maxwell, *Genevan Service Book*, p. 25.

³ In many essential ways any Protestant celebration of the sacrament will be basically the same as a celebration of the Roman Mass. This is due to the fact that they both represent the attempt of one Christian congregation or another to be obedient to our Lord's command to "do this in remembrance of me."

padius, Luther and the pastors of Strasbourg were all in agreement. Two of the most characteristically Protestant elements of worship, the sermon and the hymns, have not yet secured their place in the Strasbourg liturgy of 1524. In short, what we have is a revision based on a theological criticism of the Roman Mass rather than an attempt to recover the original forms of Christian worship.

Another thing is quite clear; the Strasbourg German Mass of 1524 was not produced in isolation. Zwingli has had a strong influence, so has Oecolampadius and certainly the Strasbourg Reformers knew the works of Luther and Kaspar Kantz. This revision of the mass has benefited from the thoughts of several Reformers. We notice a general similarity between all these approaches to revision of the mass. In each of the forms we have studied we found enough local variations to show that each writer is thinking for himself rather than simply taking over the forms of a master theologian. Nevertheless, each of these four attempts is what might be technically called a German Mass.

By the Spring of 1525 the Reformers of Basel, Strasbourg and Zurich, all of whom had in one manner or another produced revised versions of the mass scarcely more than a year before, were convinced that a revised mass was not the solution. Bucer, Oecolampadius and Zwingli no longer urged the revision of the mass, but that the mass be replaced by the Lord's Supper¹. In fact, we must admit that they demanded the suppression of the mass as a blasphemous sacrilege against God which no Christian government should allow to be practiced in its territory². In practice they were usually prepared to make some provision for the weak who were still bound to such ceremonies. In Constance, for example, one side chapel was given over for the saying of mass and a priest assigned to care for those who could not go along with the Reformation³. For five years the Reformers of Strasbourg petitioned the City

¹ Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften (4. vols.; Gütersloh: Robert Stupperich under sponsorship of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960), II, 468, 478. (Hereinafter referred to as BDS). Also, CR, LXXXIX, 808-809.

² BDS, II, 495, 497, 506, 524, 532.

³ Hermann Waldenmaier, Die Entstehung der evangelischen Gottesdienstordnungen Süddeutschlands im Zeitalter der Reformation (Leipzig, 1916), p. 28. (Hereinafter referred to as Gottesdienstordnungen).

Council to forbid all public celebrations of the mass. By 1529 this step was finally taken. If it is true that the early Reformed Church began its liturgical reform by a revision of the mass, it must be admitted with equal honesty that the demand for revision soon became a desire for suppression.

We now turn to a study of several documents which help us to understand the thinking of the Reformers at this critical moment in the history of the Reformed liturgy.

C. THE CALL FOR A MORE RADICAL REFORM

The call for a more radical reform of the eucharistic liturgy is to be found most clearly in two documents¹. First there is the very short work of Zwingli, *De canone missae libelli apologia*². While this work already points out the direction that some of these reforms will take, it is not until the second of these documents that we find a fully worked out plan for reform. This second document is the *Grund und Ursach*³. Which, while written by Bucer, is perhaps better understood as a cooperative work of the Protestant pastors of Strasbourg. In these documents we find six basic criticisms of the mass either in its German or Latin form. It is this criticism which helps us to understand why the Reformers felt that a mere revision of the mass was not the answer to the liturgical problems of their day⁴.

¹ In addition we should mention the collection of shorter documents edited under the title *Messgutachten* in BDS, II, 423-448, as well as a letter written to Martin Luther by the pastors of Strasbourg on November 23, 1524, which is found in D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe, Briefwechsel 3. Band, 381-390.

² CR, LXXXIX, 617-625. (Hereinafter referred to as *Apologia*).

³ *Grund und ursach auss gotlicher schrift der neuwerungen an dem nachtmal des herren, so man die Mess nennet, Tauff, feyrtagen, bildern und gesang in der gemein Christi, wann die züsamenkompt, durch und auff das wort gottes zü Strassburg fürgenomen* (Strasbourg: Wolfgang Köpfels, 1524). Critical edition in BDS, I, 185-278. (Hereinafter referred to as *Grund und Ursach*).

⁴ Among several studies of this document which might be mentioned:

A. Jung, *Geschichte der Reformation der Kirche in Strassburg und der Ausbreitung derselben in den Gemeinden des Elsasses* (Strasbourg, 1830), I, 342-348.

Johann Adam, *Evangelische Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg bis zur französischen Revolution* (Strasbourg, 1922), 71-75.

G.J. van de Poll, *Martin Bucer's Liturgical Ideas* (Assen, 1954), 15-20.

Thompson, LWC, 161-163.

Robert Stupperich, BDS, I, 187-193. The introductory study which Stupperich gives to his edition of the text we have found to be quite misleading at several points although helpful enough at other points. The two places where we are in most disagreement with Stupperich are on page 188 where he claims that in the *Grund und Ursach* the Lord's Supper is celebrated as a memorial meal and page 192 where he claims that the Strasbourg document looks to Zurich as the pattern of liturgical reform. The best commentary of the *Grund und Ursach* is still that of Julius Smend, *Die evangelischen deutschen Messen*, pp. 147-150.

1. Ceremonies of Human Origin

The most important criticism which the Strasbourg Reformers had of the old forms of worship was that they were of "merely human origin." The Reformers knew that many of the liturgical traditions which they had inherited were not of truly ancient tradition. This was not a startling discovery for, as we shall see, such authors as Platina, Clichtoveus, the *Liber pontificalis* and Pseudo-Isidore had carefully assigned the institution of most liturgical usages to one pope or another so that one could not easily escape from the impression that the Roman Mass was the creation of the Roman popes rather than a legacy which had been received from Christ and the Apostles. The Reformers wanted to worship God according to the commandments of God¹. It is on this basis of "the clear and lucid Word of God" that they wanted to make their reformation of worship. By the reformation of the liturgy they meant "restoration of the correct, the old, and the enduring."² They wanted to be delivered from "the confusion of so many entangled and ruinous laws and regulations of merely human origin."³

From beginning to end the *Grund und Ursach* poses the question as to what is service that is τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, "pleasing to God" God" (Romans 12:1-2; 14:17-19; Philippians 4:18; Hebrews 12:28; 13:21. All Biblical references are R. S. V.) It is interesting to note how often a varia-

¹ Cf., Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, VI, 25.

² The Reformers were willing to accept the tradition of the ancient Church in that it was a witness to the commandments of God and the practice of Christ and the Apostles. That is, they accepted the argument from tradition as it might be advanced by a Tertullian or an Irenaeus. What they objected to was not tradition but "man-made tradition." To tradition which handed down the usage of Christ and the Apostles they had no objection.

³ "Also seind wir gewis und on allen zweifel, wer gotselig ist, so er würt lesen, die clare, hellen gotteswort, auff die und nach den wir gehandelt haben, würt er ab unsern neuwerungen oder vil mer widerbringen auff das recht, alt und ewig nit allein kein beschwerdt haben, sonder gott loben und benedeyen, der uns von dem geschwirm so viler unordlicher, schedlicher menschen gebot und brauch wider auff seinen weg und zü seinem befehl gefüret hat, sich selb auch und andere underston, zü gleicher oder nach volkummer reformation augg das einig und lauter wort gottes aller ding zum gotsdienst gehörig ermanen und bringen." BDS, I, 207-208; cf., also 218.

tion of the phrase "ein gottgefelliger Dienst" appears in our text¹. We assume that these phrases are an attempt to translate the Greek words which in the Revised Standard Version are translated by the "acceptable worship" or "logical worship" of Romans 12:1-2. The Grund und Ursach answers the question by saying that the "service" which pleases God is that service which God himself works in us (Hebrews 12:28; 13:21). It is that service which through the Holy Spirit the Church does in obedience to God. It is that service which God has commanded of us. "Everything that I command you, you shall be careful to do; you shall not add to it or take from it," (Deuteronomy 12:32). Only God can direct us to what service is pleasing to him². We have no right to invent new forms or "to enrich" existing forms. Ceremonies which are merely of human origin, "von der Menschen . . . erdichtet," add nothing to worship. It is on this basis, for example, that the Strasbourg Reformers can speak of the vestments of the mass as being "opposed to faith."³ It is because they do not come out of obedience and trust to God and his Word but rather from human fantasy and invention. For the same reason the Reformers of Strasbourg find it wrong to consider the holidays as a service to God⁴. They have their basis in human tradition or even in heathen customs and since they have been established without the commandment of God⁵, it is hard to understand how they can be called a service to God. Quite simply put, the service of worship which pleases God is that service which God demands of us. That is why the Reformers searched the Scriptures to find out what service God commanded and what God through his Holy Spirit works in the hearts of his people⁶.

¹ We find the same concern in the Messgutachten, BDS, II, 524.

² BDS, I, 207.

³ BDS, I, 232, BDS, II, 476-477.

⁴ BDS, I, 263.

⁵ BDS, I, 267-268.

⁶ Zwingli in the Apologia uses the same principle, that the worship of the Church must be in obedience to the Word of God. He has, however, what might be called a "loose constructionist" view of it. He insists that God has not directed us to a special order of worship. Whether the sermon comes before communion or after it is not important. God has not limited us to certain formulations of prayer such as the Lord's Prayer but has rather given us in the Holy Scriptures a treasury of examples from which we may draw upon in formulating our own prayers. CR, LXXXIX, 622-624.

2. The Obscuring of the Biblical Signs¹

An important criticism of the traditional worship which the Strasbourg Reformers made was that the ceremonies traditional in their day either hid or replaced the basically Biblical signs in worship. It was precisely because the Reformers understood the importance of signs and symbols that they insisted on the re-establishment of the genuine signs of the New Testament. They realized that a reform in worship which merely gave a new interpretation to the familiar symbols of the mass would lack integrity. The Strasbourg Reformers did not want to "invent new symbols," but rather they wanted to re-discover the Biblical signs. It was the signs which God had given that the Church of Strasbourg wanted to recover. Let us look at two examples, the sign of the Lord's Supper and the sign of the Lord's Day.

The basic sign which God had given in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was the sharing of a meal. The mass, as the Strasbourg Reformers had come to understand it, had come to look more like a sacrifice than a meal. This obscuring of the basic Biblical sign was due to the liturgical action as much as to the liturgical text.

For the Elevation proves and demonstrates just as much that the priest has offered Christ's body and blood to the Father, as do the words which formerly were used by the massmakers before and after the Elevation in their Canon¹.

To change the liturgical text without changing the liturgical action would be insensitive to the importance of symbols.

Christ had commanded us to do only two things at the Lord's Supper, to eat and to drink. He did not command us to sacrifice the bread and wine, nor to hold it up for people to look at it. He commanded us to eat and to drink and with this eating and drinking to give thanks and in such a celebration of the Lord's Supper Christ is truly proclaimed. This is the memorial Christ has

¹ One should never lose sight of the fact that "sign" as "Zeichen" is the translation of σημεῖον.

² BDS, I, 218. "Dann mit dem auffheben ist als vil als bezeügt und anzeigt worden, das der priester den leyb und das blüt Christi gott, dem vatter, auffopfere, wie auch solchs die wort, so bissher vor und nach der uffhebung die messling in irem Canone brauchen, bewysen."

asked us to observe¹. What was clear to the Reformers was that the basic symbol or sign in the sacrament, that of a meal shared by the children of God in the house of their Father, had unfortunately been disfigured by secondary symbols, such as processions, candles, and rich vestments, none of which had been commanded by Scripture; and yet the two things which Christ himself had commanded, the giving of bread and sharing of the cup, had come to occupy little importance in the eucharistic celebrations of the late Middle Ages. Very few of the faithful communicated more than once a year and the cup was generally reserved for the clergy.

The bodily thing which the Lord commanded in the Lord's Supper is eating and drinking and that to a spiritual purpose, the celebrating of his memory, and yet we see that many want neither the bodily eating nor the spiritual memorial but rather in its place bodily seeing and bodily devotions².

It is the same concern to recover the Biblical image of the meal and to return the Communion to the center of the eucharistic celebration that motivated the Strasbourg Reformers to insist on the use of two Biblical terms in the liturgy, "the Lord's Supper" (I Corinthians 11:20) and "the Lord's Table" (I Corinthians 10:21). Both these terms pointed to the fact that the sacrament was to be understood as a meal. The earliest Evangelical theology of Strasbourg had tried to understand the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in terms of the spiritual gifts that God gives to his children at his table³. It is this understanding of the Lord's Supper, not Biblizismus, which has motivated the Strasbourg Reformers to insist on the Biblical terminology⁴.

This, too, is one of the most important reasons in replacing the altar with a table. It is not simply a matter of Biblical literalism but a concern to recover a basically Biblical image. Nor is this change simply a matter of acoustics. It is rather because,

¹ BDS, I, 211, 212, 215. BDS, I, 228.

² BDS, I, 230.

³ BDS, I, 249; cf., also note 138 on same page.

⁴ The editors of Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften claim "es ist ein Zeichen seines Biblizismus, dass Bucer andere als biblische Bezeichnungen nicht gelten lässt." BDS, I, 209 note 49.

We have only one altar, as we have only one sacrifice, and only one sacrificer, and each of these is Christ¹.

It is interesting to reflect on the theology implied by this change from altar to table. This change would never have been necessary if the early Reformed Church had understood the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as being merely a memorial of Christ's sacrifice. If the bread had been only a symbol of Christ's body, then the altar could have been understood in the same way as only a symbol of Golgotha. It was because the Reformers believed that in the Lord's Supper God really did something that they wanted the outward sign to correspond to what God did do, that is, feed his people. The meal was the symbol or sign which God himself had given for the spiritual food (I Cor. 10: 3-4) which he in truth gives.

A second liturgical reform which seems motivated by a concern to re-establish the basically Biblical symbol or sign is the reform of the calendar. The sign of the Lord's Day is deeply embedded in Scripture from the creation narrative to the book of Revelation. The Strasbourg Reformers reassert the importance of the basic Christian holiday — the Lord's Day. Basing their understanding on the narratives of the Gospels which tell us of the many times Jesus used the Sabbath as an occasion for healing (Matt. 12:9-14; Mark 1:21-27, 29-32; John 5:2-9), the Strasbourg Reformers tell us that the Lord's Day is a day for doing good to our neighbors. As Jesus by his example taught us, Sunday is a day for the preaching of the Word of God, prayer, the Lord's Supper, and works of charity².

It is interesting that what Bucer means by exercises of love toward the neighbor are first and foremost the service of the Word, prayer, the Lord's Supper and with this the giving of alms, that is the service of worship itself is an exercise of Christian love toward the neighbor³. Here we see once again the theme of "acceptable worship" and "logical worship" of Romans 12:1-2. The service which God demands of us on the Lord's Day is a service which "builds up" the church. The service of the Lord's Day is a service which brings about peace and reconciliation.

¹ "... so wir doch nur ein altar haben, wie auch nur ein opffer und ein opfferer, welchs alles Christus ist, ..." BDS, I, 241.

² BDS, I, 263.

³ BDS, I, 263-264.

For the kingdom of God does not mean food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit; he who thus serves Christ is acceptable to God and approved by men. Let us then pursue what makes for peace and for mutual upbuilding. (Rom. 14:17-19)

It is to this end that the ministry of praise, prayer, preaching and the sacraments is exercised¹.

¹ BDS, I, 275. The emphasis of Reformed worship on the Lord's Day has often been attacked as "Sabbatarianism." It has often been claimed that it is the supreme example of the disproportionately large influence of the Old Testament on Bucer as well as on other Reformed theologians. Some have even gone so far as to attack the Reformed insistence on the Sabbath as a Judaizing practice. We would suggest, however, that the Reformed practice has stronger roots in the tradition of the ancient Church. First we point to the fact that the text specifically gives as one of the reasons for not doing away with the observance of Sunday is that for so many years the Christian Church has observed Sunday. It has always been on Sunday, we are told, that the Christian Church has held its assembly for the exercising of the Word of God, prayer and the Lord's Supper (BDS, I, 266). Bucer probably has in mind some of the most ancient texts for the history of the liturgy that we possess, many of which clearly mark Sunday as the day for Christian worship. Pliny's famous letter to Trajan would be an example. Secondly, part of the argument for the observance of the Lord's Day is the legislation of the Christian emperors. Wendel suggests that it was Wolfgang Capito who in addition to his doctorate in theology also had a doctorate in law who suggested the argument from the legislation of the Christian emperors (cf., F. Wendel, *L'église de Strasbourg, sa constitution et son organisation 1532-1535* (Paris, 1942), 54). (Hereinafter referred to as *L'église de Strasbourg*). Thirdly, it is interesting to note that while Bucer attacks the observance of Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany and Ascension, he does not attack Easter and Pentecost. That is, those feasts which occur on a Sunday are not specifically attacked, but rather the feasts which normally fall on other days of the week. It is possible that the Strasbourg Reformers are being influenced by the arguments of the ancient Church against the Quartodeciman practice. About this they had probably learned from the *Ecclesiastical History* (V, xxiii-xxv) of Eusebius. Eusebius discusses the controversy at length. This insistence of the ancient Church that Easter be celebrated on the Lord's Day was motivated by the Church's concern to show its independence from the Jewish practice. In other words, the emphasis on Sunday worship is quite the opposite of "Judaizing." In the same way we see the Grund und Ursach arguing against the suggestion that the Jewish festivals of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread implied that the Church should also celebrate Christmas and Epiphany (BDS, I, 267). If the Old Testament commandment had been sufficient to establish Sunday why was it not sufficient to establish Christmas? Clearly the decisive argument for Bucer was not the Old Testament but the practice of the ancient Church. Although we have not been able to include a chapter on the Lord's Day, it is clear, perhaps above all in this case, the early Reformed Church was willing to accept the practice of the ancient Church as evidence for the commandment of God. Cf., W. Rordorf, *Sunday, the History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church* (Philadelphia, 1968).

When you come together, each one has a hymn, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue or an interpretation. Let all things be done for edification.
(I Corinthians 14:26)

The Lord's Day is a sign of God's victory over sin and darkness. On the Lord's Day God's people assemble in his house and at his table to celebrate his Resurrection and to await his coming. It is above all in the liturgical assembly that this sign is no mere empty sign. The coming together of the Church on the Day of Resurrection is the Church's witness to the Resurrection, and also a witness to its hope in the coming of the Kingdom. It is not an empty sign because it helps bring about that which it signifies.

3. Superstition and Hypocrisy

The Reformers often criticize the worship of the medieval Church for being superstitious and hypocritical. A careful reading of the *Grund und Ursache* shows what was meant by these two criticisms. Superstition is understood as a failure to recognize the role of the Holy Spirit in worship. It is to attribute the efficacy of a sacrament to the outward sign rather than to the inner working of the Holy Spirit. Hypocrisy, on the other hand, is understood as the performing of a religious act for some other motive than obedience to God. It is worshiping out of some other source of power than the inward working of the Holy Spirit. It must be the Holy Spirit which works faith in the hearts of believers and it must be out of faith that one is obedient to God. True worship must be an act of obedience to God. It must be worship in Spirit and truth (John 4:24). It must be the Holy Spirit who cries "Abba" in our innermost being (Romans 8:15-16). This filial cry to the Father from the innermost being of a man as well as "joy in the Holy Spirit" is the essence of Christian prayer (Romans 8:26-27). Spiritual worship is "inner worship" in that it pours forth from the heart, in obedience to God, and by the grace of the Holy Spirit. "Outward worship" is both superstitious because it does not recognize its dependence upon God's Spirit and hypocritical because it does not flow from the inward working of the Holy Spirit.

It is on this basis that the great number of gestures required by the mass are criticized as being both superstitious and hypocritical. The proper

celebration of the mass demanded of the celebrant, as well as the faithful, an exacting execution of a large number of precisely defined gestures. There was the sign of the cross, genuflections, the turning of the celebrant first toward the altar and then toward the people, bowing, striking the breast, the kissing of various objects, lifting the eyes toward heaven and others. The Reformers admit that we must have gestures to express our inner feelings, but these gestures should be allowed to flow naturally from the work of the Holy Spirit in our hearts. They should not be a mere outward conformity to ceremonial laws devised by men¹. If these gestures had been prescribed by Scripture or recommended by ancient tradition, it would have been another matter².

The *Grund und Ursach* takes special point of speaking of the sign of the cross as a superstitious practice. It is recognized that this gesture is of great antiquity³. Nevertheless, it was found particularly objectionable because it had commonly been used as a *Schirmstreich*, a means of warding off evil. It was used as though the sign itself possessed a power⁴. It was similar with the uses to which many sorts of crosses and crucifixes were put. As the Strasbourg Reformers saw it, it all came down to holding too closely to the sign and becoming concerned with shadows of the truth instead of the reality itself⁵.

The saying of the office was frequently attacked as being hypocritical. To be sure, the singing of hymns and psalms was commanded in Scripture. Why then was it hypocritical? According to Bucer and his colleagues, the singing of the monastic office had become a mere "outward" form accomplished in fulfillment of the requirements of a foundation. That is, the office was often

¹ BDS, I, 238.

² A gesture which gradually gained almost universal acceptance in the Reformed Church was standing for prayer on the Lord's Day. A patristic basis for this is most probable because it is mentioned in several passages well known to the Reformers such as, Tertullian, *De corona*, III; cf., also *De oratione*, XXIII. Here is a case where the early Reformed Church accepted a practice primarily because it was recommended by ancient tradition but which is not specified by Scripture.

³ The text calls attention to one of the classical passages of patristic literature on the sign of the cross, Tertullian's *De corona*, III.

⁴ BDS, I, 241.

⁵ BDS, I, 250.

celebrated primarily for financial considerations. Even worse than that, the moral failings of the monks made it seem unlikely that their liturgical service sprang from obedience to God.

4. Luxury

A theme which runs through the whole of the Grund und Ursach is that luxury in liturgical celebrations was to be avoided¹. This luxury was to be avoided above all because an appearance of worldly richness was seen as inconsistent with the Church's concern for the poor².

First we find this argument directed against liturgical vestments. The humeral veil, alb, stole, maniple and chasuble are described in detail. Normally we are told, these vestments are made of costly brocades, richly embroidered silks and intricately laced linens. These things do not belong in the Church, but rather in the courts of the princes of this world³.

. . . they hinder brotherly love and the giving of alms to the poor through their encouragement of pomp and pride⁴.

Once again the Reformed churches' criticism of the Renaissance is clear. The vestments suggest or even symbolize the alliance of the Church with the ruling classes and the standard of luxury set by the Renaissance princes.

¹ The same theme is to be found in the Messgutachten, e.g., BDS, II, 241-242. One cannot overlook the great similarity between many of the Strasbourg Reformers' attacks on liturgical luxury and those of Lactantius who in his chapter "Of True Worship" (The Divine Institutes VI) condemns the liturgical luxury of the pagans. Particularly striking is the use of the argument that instead of decorating images with costly gifts it is more appropriate to help the poor who are the living images of God. One needs only to compare BDS, I, 270 to The Divine Institutes VI, 13 to find the source of the Reformers' criticism.

² There were other reasons; for instance, it seemed to the Reformers of Strasbourg that often the ornateness and pomp of liturgical celebrations served to feed the pride of the celebrant rather than the glory of God (BDS, I, 233). This aspect is particularly stressed by Zwingli's Apologia. We are told that the rich vestments of the mass are nothing more than an attempt to make oneself more than the simplicity of the people of God (CR, LXXXIX, 620-621).

³ BDS, I, 234, CR, LXXXIX, 620-621.

⁴ BDS, I, 233.

Secondly, we find this argument directed against Church art, especially the use of images. The images were decorated with jewels and costly clothing, and elaborate shrines were constructed for them.

For a long time now, here in Strasbourg, we have energetically preached that God should be served in spirit rather than in idols, and that our money and good deeds should be expended for the good of the neighbor in need, who is the living image of God¹.

Again and again the same argument is repeated: the money spent on church art and church decorations is a crime against love because the money should go to helping the poor². It is Christ who has been left naked where the poor do not have warm clothing, regardless of how beautifully liturgical images are draped³. If the Reformed Church of the sixteenth century rejected the art of the Renaissance, it was to a large extent because the art of the Renaissance had made an unfortunate equation between "richness" and beauty. Here is one of the clear distinctions between the Reformation and the iconoclasm of certain Byzantine emperors. In the following century Dutch painting, strongly influenced by the Reformed faith, will rediscover the relation of beauty to simplicity.

Thirdly, we find the same argument directed against the erection of costly altars⁴. Anyone who is familiar with the magnificent winged high altars produced by the South German artists such as Martin Schongauer, Mathias Grünewald, Michael Erhart, Tilman Riemenschneider and Hans Holbein the Elder can well appreciate the fact that they involved a great outlay of money⁵. For the Reformers of Strasbourg it was wrong for the Church to expend so much money on gilded altars when poverty had begun to be a problem in the same cities.

¹ BDS, I, 270.

² BDS, I, 272.

³ BDS, I, 273-274.

⁴ BDS, I, 241-242.

⁵ Erhart's high altar for the Benedictine Monastery in Blaubeuron is perhaps the most eloquent example. Erhart belonged to the school of Jörg Syrlin in Ulm. Holbein spent most of his life in Augsburg or the Alsacian city of Isenheim. Martin Schongauer was a native of Colmar and died in Breisach. Riemenschneider spent some time in the Upper Rhine. In short, it was the cities that produced these masters who would most strongly oppose Christian art, just as only Florence could produce a Savonarola.

5. Lack of Ecclesiological Emphasis

It is interesting to notice that the Strasbourg Reformers develop their ecclesiological understanding of worship on the basis of their understanding of eucharistic theology. Rather than beginning with the doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers" they begin with a consideration of the nature of the Christian assembly:

The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not fellowship in Christ's blood? The bread that we break, is it not the fellowship of Christ's body? For we the many are one loaf of bread and one body, because we are all participators in a single loaf of bread¹.

To be sure, the Church of Strasbourg criticized "private celebrations" of the Lord's Supper in which only the priest communicated as well as the practice of not sharing the cup with the faithful. This was a criticism common to all the Reformers as well as to many who remained in the Roman Catholic Church. However, the Reformers of Strasbourg saw the question in an even more radical way. It is by the Eucharist that God creates the Church. The Lord's Supper, therefore, implied the assembling of the whole Church together in one place². While our text assures us that this viewpoint is well grounded in Scripture, the texts are not specifically mentioned. Such texts as Acts 2:1,

And when the day of Pentecost had come, they were all together in one place.

or the phrase in I Corinthians 11:18, "when you assemble as a church," might well be in mind. We imagine, however, that such a passage as the following from Justin Martyr might also have influenced them.

On the day which is called Sunday, all who live in the cities or in the countryside gather together in one place³.

¹ "Der kelch der benedeyung, wölchen wir benedeyen, ist der nicht die gemeinschaft des blüts Christi? Das brot, das wir brechen, ist das nicht die gemeinschaft des leibs Christi? denn wir vil seind ein brot und ein leyb, diweyl wir alle eins brots teylhafftig seind." BDS, I, 242. The version in English above is our attempt at representing the German translation of I Cor. 10: 16-17 used by Bucer.

² BDS, I, 243.

³ Thompson, LWC, 9.

That is just what the Strasbourg Reformers dreamed of: gathering the whole Christian community of Strasbourg together at one time and in one place and uniting together as the body of Christ through the celebration of the Eucharist. There were, of course, practical problems in realizing this ideal. The good citizens of Strasbourg were accustomed to the convenience of sending the servants to an early service so that when the family returned from a later service dinner would be ready. Gathering the whole of Strasbourg in the cathedral might not have been way beyond the realm of possibility but it would have made for discomfort and inconvenience. Nevertheless, in Strasbourg as in Basel the practice developed that communion was held in one church each Lord's Day. We suspect that behind this practice is the belief that a church is first and foremost a eucharistic community.

A second problem in realizing this ideal was that the Reformers of Strasbourg did not feel that the Reformation had yet succeeded in establishing a sufficiently high level of spiritual maturity to permit regular communion by the whole church¹. If the Reformed Church did not finally succeed in its desire to make communion of the faithful a regular part of the worship on the Lord's Day, it was first because it recognized the change imposed on worship because of the generalized practice of infant baptism. Secondly, it was because the Reformers had not yet been able to re-establish the purity of discipline of the ancient Church. The Reformers would never have dreamed of encouraging any and all to communicate. Thirdly, they felt that many people were still under too many erroneous superstitions about the Lord's Supper. In short, the people were too immature for anything but preaching. It was hoped, however, that if the preaching were properly conducted the church might in time be sufficiently reformed to enable the restoration of regular eucharistic worship².

¹ BDS, I, 244.

² "Das aber im anfang der kirchen das nachtmal alweg von der gantzen gemein gehalten ward, hat drey gelegenheit dazu mer dann wir gehabt. Die erst: nieman ward geteufft und in ir gemein angenommen, dann der sich ans wort Christi gantz ergeben hat, so in unser gemein uns vil hören predigen und aber noch nit sich gantzlich und aller ding ans wort ergeben haben, sonder werden Christo aller erst geporen. Zum andern hatten sye den bann, domit sye die, so ergerlich lebten oder lerten, von inen ausschliessen, so wir noch rups und raps durcheinander müssen gon lassen. Zum dritten waren die Christen dazumal mit keiner irthumb gegen dem Nachtmal Christi verführet, so ir nun also vil durch das Bäpstlich gesind aussgossen seind, das worlich das heilsamest were, wo man das Evangelion anfieng zü predigen, die leüt ein zeyt lang gar, wo es mit füg sein möchte, darvon absendte, biss sye des ein rechten brauch durchs wort erlerneten." BDS, I, 245.

6. Allegorical Interpretation of the Liturgy

Beginning in the ninth century, the understanding as well as the shaping of the mass was greatly influenced by allegorical commentaries¹. This genre of literature was introduced into the West chiefly by Amalar of Metz, and flourished in the cathedrals and monasteries of the high Middle Ages under Ivo of Chartres, Sicard of Cremona, Rupert of Deutz, and Pope Innocent III. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the number of commentaries on the mass increased enormously. The main object of the allegorical mass commentary was to show how the celebration of the mass was a memorial or representation of salvation history. Jungmann distinguishes between typological allegory, remorative allegory, eschatological allegory, and moral allegory. Although such people as Florus of Lyon² and Ivo of Chartres³ tried to call attention to the essential theological difference between allegory and typology, the great majority of the commentators imaginatively entwined all types of allegories, number symbolism, and typology into very personal meditations on the central Christian mystery. Much of the ceremonial form of the liturgy was explained through one form of allegory or another. The liturgical vestments were particularly associated with remorative allegory⁴. The numerous repetitions of the signs of the cross or the Kyrie eleison were explained through the allegorical meanings of numbers⁵. The entrance of the bishop into the church was spiritually interpreted as the coming of Christ into the world. The seven candles carried by the acolytes stood for the seven gifts of the Spirit. When the bishop ascended his throne it was a figure of the seating of Christ at the right hand of the Father⁶.

¹ Adolf Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902), pp. 333-740 gives us a very detailed study of these commentaries. A good summary of allegorical mass commentaries is given by Jungmann, MS, I, 114-120 and 143-156.

² Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, pp. 359-360.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 429-431.

⁴ For the interpretation of Amalar of Metz cf., *Ibid.*, p. 533, and for that of Rupert of Deutz cf., *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 410, 419, 455.

⁶ Jungmann, MS, p. 117.

One has often noticed with surprise that in Zwingli's *De canone missae epichiresis* of 1523 he is still willing to accept an allegorical interpretation of the liturgical vestments¹. We should not be surprised at this because, as we shall show in the next chapter, Zwingli had in his earlier years given much careful study to Origen. However, at the same Frankfurt Book Fair where Zwingli's *De canone* was introduced, a volume of Oecolampadius' translations of John Chrysostom's commentary on Genesis was also introduced. In his letter of dedication to Nikolaus von Wattenwyl of Bern he tells us of his decision for the exegetical school of Antioch, so ably represented by John Chrysostom, and his rejection of the allegorical exegesis of the Alexandrian school as represented by Origen, Didymus and Cyril of Alexandria².

A few months later Zwingli tells us in his *Apologia* that there is no sense returning to the veil of Moses when the face of Christ has appeared to us (I Cor. 3:13). Zwingli has changed his position on the subject of allegory. He tells us that we should be careful to distinguish between those things which are shadows of things to come and that which is a memorial of what has come³. We find that the Strasbourg Reformers follow the same line of thought in the *Grund und Ursach* a year later⁴. The exegetical decision for John Chrysostom and the school of Antioch⁵ had radical consequences for the liturgy. So long as the allegorical exegesis of Scripture was practiced, the processions, the vestments, and the intricately worked out patterns of gestures and movements still had meaning. But when the allegorical exegesis was rejected the allegorical interpretation of the liturgy became an anachronism and all the ceremonies that had been traditionally explained by allegory became a meaningless luxury.

For more than a thousand years the mass had been built up by adding one beloved usage to another. For centuries the liturgy had been decorated by allegorical ceremonies and enriched by rites which sought to express the glory

¹ CR, LXXXIX, 600-601.

² Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads* (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 184-185. (Hereinafter referred to as *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*).

³ CR, LXXXIX, 620.

⁴ BDS, I, 234-235.

⁵ One should not forget that Oecolampadius was quite aware that the exegesis of Origen and Didymus had been condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Council.

of God through opulence. The original meanings of these hallowed symbols were often forgotten but the empty forms continued to be practiced and superstitious reasons were given for their perpetuation. To change all this implied more than a simple liturgical revision. The Reformers believed that the worship of the Church must be "re-formed" according to the Word of God. They wanted nothing less than to find again the traditions established by Christ, handed down by the Apostles and practiced by the ancient Church.

D. THE FIRST CELEBRATIONS OF THE EVANGELICAL LORD'S SUPPER

1. Strasbourg

In all probability it was several months before the reforms of the Grund und Ursach were realized in the city of Strasbourg. We find them being carried out in three successive psalters. The Strasbourg Order for the Lord's Supper (D) was printed by Johannes Schwann probably sometime in the early months of 1525¹. In May, Wolfgang Köpphel printed the Strasbourg Church Service (E)². Finally, with the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 (F)³ the liturgy reaches a form which it maintains for more than a decade. To give a definite date for the first celebration of the Evangelical Lord's Supper would be a bit hazardous. The changes seem to have been undertaken one at a time over a period of months; nevertheless, we can say that the reforms took place sometime between December of 1524 and Easter of 1525⁴.

¹ Ordnung des Herren Nachtmal: so man die Messz nen-net sampt der Tauff und Inseugung der Ee, Wie yetzt die diener des wort gots zuo Strassburg Erneüwert und nach götlicher gschrift gebessert haben uss ursach in nachgen-der Epistel gemeldet, (Strasbourg: Johannes Schwann, 1525). Hubert, liturgischen Ordnungen, lists two editions, p. xv-xvi. The text is given on pp. 82-87.

² Straszburger kirchen ampt, nemlich von Inseugung d' Eeleüt, vom Tauf und von des herren nachtmal, verzeychnet sein, (Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, 1525). The single copy of this liturgy was destroyed in 1870. Descriptions have come down to us which are to be found in Hubert, liturgischen Ordnungen, xvi.

³ Psalmen gebett und Kirchchen übung wie sie zu Strass-burg gehalten werden, (Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, 1526). Hubert, li-turgischen Ordnungen, lists three editions. The text is given on pp. 88-114.

⁴ Perhaps the first public celebration of the Lord's Supper in accordance with demands of the South German Reformers was held in the imperial free city of Memmingen on December 7, 1524. We know little about this service other than that it was held in the evening. Cf., Emil Sehling, ed., Die evange-lischen Kirchenordnungen der Reformationszeit (Leipzig und Tübingen, 1902), XII, p. 225. (Hereinafter referred to as Kirchenordnun-gen).

We list some of the more important characteristics of the Reformed liturgy which emerge for the first time in these three liturgies of the Church of Strasbourg¹.

1. A number of traditional liturgical terms have been changed for a terminology more in line with the New Testament. The word "mass" has been replaced with the term "Lord's Supper" (I Cor. 11:20), and the word "altar" has been replaced with the term "Lord's Table" (I Cor. 10:21)².

2. The words of Institution were brought into conformity with the text of the New Testament.

3. We see a growing importance given to the singing of the congregation. The psalms are emphasized more and more. Instead of singing simply the traditional one or two verses, to which the Introit and the Gradual had been reduced over the centuries, one tried to restore the singing of the whole psalm. The traditional songs of the mass were looked upon with little enthusiasm³. With the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 (F) the Sanctus and Benedictus disappear. Likewise the Kyrie and Gloria may be replaced by the singing of a psalm.

¹ There have been a number of attempts to describe these changes. In addition to those references made in the previous section of this chapter, we would mention: Louis Büchschütz, *Histoire des liturgies en langue allemande dans l'église de Strasbourg au XVI^e siècle*, dissertation, Cahors, 1900, pp. 78-99. (Hereinafter referred to as *Histoire*); Hubert, *liturgischen Ordnungen*, lxii-lxxix; Maxwell, *Genevan Service Book*, pp. 28-36; Smend, *Evangelischen deutschen Messen*, pp. 123-160; Waldenmaier, *Gottesdienstordnungen*, pp. 64-73.

² With these two changes is implied an enormous change in the way the Reformed liturgy would look. From now on the service was to look like a meal. Just how this would be practically worked out had differed in various local Reformed Churches. In Zurich this was accomplished by having the people remain seated in the pews where the deacons served them the bread and cup. In Strasbourg it was accomplished by having the minister stand behind the communion table and give the bread and wine across the table to the communicants. That the minister was to conduct the Lord's Supper from behind the Lord's Table was, of course, the custom of the ancient Church. This can be clearly seen in the arrangement of many of the older churches of Italy and even Northern Europe. Even in the sixteenth century it was the practice of the pope when celebrating in the basilicas of Rome. All this Bucer well knew (BDS, II, 446-447). The recent restoration of the basilican position by the Roman Catholic Church cannot be other than heartily applauded by Reformed Protestants.

³ In the liturgy proposed by the *Grund und Ursach* the Kyrie and Gloria are not even mentioned. BDS, I, 246-247.

4. The *lectio continua* takes the place of a lectionary based on the Christian year. The Collect, which also had been based on the Christian year, was replaced by the Prayer for Illumination.

5. The sermon becomes part of the liturgy rather than an accessory which occasionally supplements the liturgy.

6. The vestments of the mass, chasubles, albs, stoles, and others are discarded.

7. Finally, we see very clearly the disappearance of all forms of dialogue between celebrant and people. The liturgical responses and versicles have been eliminated as well as all the turnings from people to altar.

Several things are quite clear about the meaning of these changes which we find taking place in the Strasbourg Order for the Lord's Supper (D), the Strasbourg Church Service (E) and the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 (F). In the first place, they are not to be explained either as an anti-Lutheran reaction or as the result of "the chilly wind of the Swiss mountains," as Büchschütz has so ineptly put it¹. The plans for a more thorough reform of the liturgy to be found in the *Grund und Ursach* were written at a time when it was not yet too clear that there was a conflict between Luther and Strasbourg on the Lord's Supper². Beside that, we find it hard to believe that the Church of Strasbourg would have given almost a third of its psalter over to hymns written by Luther, if antagonism to Luther were a motive for changing the liturgy³. To claim that the Strasbourg liturgy is the result of Swiss influence is rather difficult when we notice that at the time Strasbourg made these changes no Swiss church had reformed its liturgy.

¹ Büchschütz, *Histoire*, p. 91.

² Hastings Eells, *Martin Bucer* (New Haven, 1931), pp. 72-73.

³ Büchschütz seems to have seriously misunderstood the facts. We grant that more than two-thirds of the hymns found in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 (F) come from Strasbourg poets and musicians, but why should it be otherwise. At the time of the Reformation Strasbourg was one of the world's great centers of culture. The city had no need to go outside of its walls to find poets and musicians of the first quality. Nevertheless, almost a third of the hymns in this psalter come from Luther, including his version of the Ten Commandments, the Creed and Psalms 12, 14, 124, 128, 130 and 67. Of particular interest is the fact that his communion hymn, "Gott sei gelobet," never seems to have been dropped from the Strasbourg Psalter.

Secondly, we think it is very little likely that the Church of Strasbourg was motivated by Biblical literalism in such changes as replacing the text of the *Qui predie* with one of the Biblical accounts of the Last Supper, the changing of the word altar to table, the replacing of the Introits with complete psalms, the use of the benediction from Numbers 6 and several other such changes. What seems more likely to be at play is the humanists' earnest desire to return to the sources, their love for the original form and their disdain for a corrupted text.

Thirdly, we feel that it would be a mistake to understand the discontinuance of the dialogue form either in reference to the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers or in relation to the basic meaning of the word liturgy, that is, "the peoples work." Reformed theology has always understood the sermon not as the minister's personal reflection on religion or his individual interpretation of Scripture, but rather as the Word of God. It was therefore that they had no objection to having the minister of the Word proclaim God's absolution after the confession of sins and God's benediction at the end of the service. The rejection of the dialogue form reflects no doubts about the authority of the ministry. Far more it simply shows that the Reformers did not understand worship in dialectical terms. The whole of worship whether it was the singing of hymns of praise by the congregation or the proclaiming of the Word of God by the pastor was the action of the Holy Spirit in the Church, thankfully proclaiming the redemptive work of the Son, to the glory of the Father.

2. Zurich

Other cities of the Upper Rhine were quick to follow the example of Strasbourg. With the approach of Easter the question of the reform of the eucharistic liturgy became especially pressing. During the year it was considered sufficient to attend mass, but at Easter all Christians were expected "to communicate." In Constance, Lindau and Zurich the priests of Evangelical tendency provided a Reformed celebration of the Eucharist, for those who could no longer accept the Roman Mass as an obedient response to the command of Christ to "do this in remembrance of me." Unfortunately, neither the text of the celebration in Constance nor that of the service celebrated by Thomas Gassner in Lindau has

come down to us. We have only the text of Zwingli¹.

We know from a letter of December 16, 1524², that Zwingli had been making plans for this celebration for some time. He tells us that the liturgical reforms of the Church of Strasbourg please him very much. He likes the singing of German hymns and psalms. He also would like to dispense with the chasuble, stole and surplice, and he too disapproves of the Elevation. The form of the liturgy should express the fact that it is "a joyful celebration of thanksgiving and a uniting together in the covenant."³ Zwingli wishes, in the same way as Strasbourg, "to set up a table, with bread and wine on it, and with this sacrament we will thank God and commit ourselves to each other."⁴

When the first Evangelical celebration of the Lord's Supper took place at Zurich in Holy Week of 1525, the Lord's Supper controversy had not yet become heated. To be sure, Zwingli had already reached his position, but only

¹ We have both the text of the service which Zwingli proposed to the City Council, and that which was celebrated. We have given the title First Zurich Service Book of 1525 to the version printed on April 6, 1525, which was the liturgy Zwingli proposed to the city council. After several changes evidently made at the request of the council a second edition was published, which was the version of the liturgy that was actually celebrated. To this version we have assigned the title Second Zurich Service Book of 1525. The most interesting difference is that the antiphonal recitation of the Creed, the Gloria and Psalm 113 which Zwingli proposed to have recited antiphonally between the men and women has been replaced by an antiphonal recitation between the pastor and the deacon. In Zwingli's proposal the people were to say "Amen" to the prayers but as the liturgy was actually celebrated the Amen was said by the deacon. For a full account of the variations of the two service books cf., Smend, Evangelischen deutschen Messen, 196-201. Another edition of the text is to be found in CR, XCI, 1-24 and an English translation in Thompson, LWC, 149-156. Studies of the text: Johannes Bauer, "Einige Bemerkungen über die ältesten Züricher Liturgien," Monats-schrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, XVII, (1912), 116-124, 152-161, and 178-187; J. Courvoisier, Zwingli, théologien réformé (Neuchâtel and Paris, 1965), 68-84; Thompson, LWC, 141-146; Fritz Schmidt-Clausen, Zwingli als Liturgiker (Göttingen, 1952); J. Schweizer, Reformierte Abendmahlsgestaltung in der Schau Zwinglis (Basel, n.d.); Smend, Evangelischen deutschen Messen, 201-212; Waldenmaier, Gottesdienstordnungen, 18-21.

² CR, XCV, 261-278.

³ "Celebris gratulatio et confoederatio." CR, XCV, 276.

⁴ "Ponemus mensam, panem ac vinum dicemusque hoc sacramento gratias agi coniungique sibi mutuo Christianos . . ." CR, XCV, 277.

recently¹. We are not at all surprised to find, therefore, that the Zurich Service Book of 1525 is far more than a simple working out of what is commonly called the Zwinglian sacramental theology. First of all the liturgy is an action. It is the breaking of bread and the sharing of a cup. This is most obvious from the title of the liturgy, Action or Practice of the Lord's Supper, a Memorial or Thanksgiving of Christ. Zwingli, as other Reformers, was greatly concerned to restore the "dominical action" to the Eucharist. The important thing was not the formulas but the sharing of a meal. Secondly, this action is a thanksgiving.

This memorial is a thanksgiving and a rejoicing before Almighty God for the benefit which He has manifested to us through his Son; and whoever appears at this feast, meal or thanksgiving . . .².

The doxological nature of the Zurich liturgy is also clear from the reciting of the Gloria in excelsis, the Apostles' Creed and Psalm 113. It is not, however, primarily by means of the texts which are recited that the thanksgiving is expressed but rather it is through the action. Nothing could be further from the truth than to say that Zwingli dissolves the worship into words or that it is purely a matter of reflection. What is very clear from the preface to the Zurich Service Book of 1525 is that the memorial is an act of thanksgiving³.

3. Basel⁴

For Basel, which at the time of the Reformation was one of the centers of Western culture, the reformation of worship has a more complicated

¹ Walter Köhler, Zwingli und Luther. Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1924), and (Gütersloh, 1953), I, 97.

² Thompson, LWC, p. 150.

³ CR, XCI, 15.

⁴ For the Basel Service Book of 1526 we have two editions, the second of which should be regarded as more authoritative as will appear evident in the notes to the following pages. This second, or Basel edition has the title: Form und Gestalt wie der Kindertauf, des Herren Nachtmahl und der Krancken heymsuchung jetzt zu Basel von etlichen Predicanten gehalten werden (Basel: n.n., 1526). A critical edition of the text is to be found in Smend, Evangelischen deutschen Messen, pp. 214-221. Thompson, LWC, gives an English translation of the first edition on pp. 211-215.

history¹. Basel had been one of the seed-beds of Reformed Protestantism. The University of Basel was the alma mater of Zurich's two Reformers, Leo Jud and Ulrich Zwingli. Two of Strasbourg's Reformers, Wolfgang Capito and Kaspar Hedio had served as pastors in Basel. In establishing a regular celebration of the Evangelical Lord's Supper, Basel followed after Strasbourg, Constance and Zurich by several months. There had been numerous celebrations of a German mass from a relatively early date but for the most part they were of a private nature. There were several reasons for this. The university, which had been founded by Pope Pius II in the previous century, remained true to the papacy. Erasmus, by then the "Humanist Prince," saw the Reformation as a revolt from established authority. The elite group of learned men who surrounded the great scholar as well as Basel's patrician families were not sympathetic to the Reformation. During the years 1523-1529 Evangelically minded priests were nevertheless quite free to preach reform from the pulpit, but the city council was not willing to let them reform either the saying of the office or the regular celebrations of the mass. Still, for those priests intent upon reformation, the knowledge that their colleagues in Constance, Strasbourg and Zurich had introduced an Evangelical celebration of the Lord's Supper was certain to have its effect. Beginning in May, 1525, we hear of Evangelical celebrations of the Lord's Supper being conducted by various priests, Johann Lütthard and Konrad Pellikan at the Franciscan Priory, Markus Bertchi at St. Leonhard's, Petrus Frauenberger at St. Alban's, Jakob Immeli at St. Ulrich's, and Thomas Geierfalk at the Augustinian Priory. It is important to emphasize that these celebrations did not displace the regular masses but were rather in the form of special services offered for those who were interested. All this seems to have been done without the official permission of the city council. In fact, Immeli was dismissed from his post in the summer of 1525 and Frauenberger

¹ Studies of development of the liturgy are to be found in Smend, *Evangelischen deutschen Messen*, pp. 213-238; Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, pp. 429-447; Waldenmaier, *Gottesdienstordnungen*, pp. 21-26.

in November because their activity in reforming the liturgy had become too outspoken¹.

¹ John Oecolampadius was at this time pastor of St. Martin in the very center of Basel. For the most part he was content to take care of the preaching and leave the celebration of mass to his assistant. Staehelin points to evidence that he had held some sort of communion service on May 21, 1525. In the fall, All Saints' Day to be exact, he celebrated another such service. About the same time Luther introduced his German Mass to the Church of Wittenburg, October 29, 1525, Oecolampadius was able to report to Zwingli that he had celebrated the Lord's Supper with the living saints on All Saint's Day (*Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads*, ed. by Ernst Staehelin (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1927-1934), I, Nr. 298 and Nr. 303. Hereinafter referred to as *Oek.Br.* (CR, XCV, 404, 406). We only know one thing for certain about this service. In both accounts which he gives us of the service he stresses his desire to have a celebration marked by a great simplicity. This has been ever since one of the most beautiful marks of Reformed worship. Perhaps a clue to these services is found in a letter which Oecolampadius wrote in January, 1525, to Balthasar Hubmair, who in the following months would become one of the leaders of the Anabaptist movement. After the Sanctus Oecolampadius suggested a silence for meditating on the passion of Christ. Then in a loud clear voice the Words of Institution were to be read. This was to be followed by another period of silence for the giving of thanks. This is followed by the Lord's Prayer. The deacon then reads the dismissals and communion is given to the faithful. The service is concluded by the recommendation of alms. Staehelin suggests that sometime between November, 1525, and May, 1526 the priests of Evangelical conviction worked out a common liturgy. Oecolampadius, more than likely, had had an important influence on his colleagues, but we should probably consider the liturgy as a common undertaking rather than the work of a single individual. In 1526, a description of this liturgy was printed by Phillip Uhlhart, an Augsburg printer well known for his sympathy for the Reformed faith. The publication of the liturgy in Augsburg was necessary because the city council had denied Oecolampadius the right of publication in Basel. The Augsburg edition of the liturgy does not seem to have been at the instigation of the Reformed pastors of Basel but rather at the instigation of Uhlhart. In July of 1526 Oecolampadius was again able to use the presses of Basel and it would seem that the second edition of the liturgy was published shortly thereafter. The picture of the worship of Basel which we receive from these two documents indicates that things have only begun to take shape and that the Evangelical communion services are still without official approval. They were still held within the framework of the preaching services. The Basel Reformers had not been able to change the appointments of the buildings, although they had been allowed to veil the images during their services. Evidently they had not been allowed to set up a communion table and so had had to use the altar. At the time of the Augsburg edition of the liturgy candles were still in use but with the Basel edition of the liturgy they disappear. It was not, however, until the official establishment of the Reformation in 1529 that the Reformers were allowed to remove the altars. The psalms were read but not sung. This was a sore point with the Evangelicals of Basel. They had wanted to sing psalms like their friends in Strasbourg and Constance but the city council had forbidden them to do so.

In studying the liturgy of Basel as we find it in the two service books of 1526 we must keep in mind two things. On the one hand, it must be understood in the context of the liturgies of other cities of South Germany, Alsace and Switzerland. It is but another attempt to do the same thing, that is, recover the original purity of Christian worship. Those who framed this liturgy were in constant contact with the Reformers of Strasbourg, Zurich, Constance and other cities¹. On the other hand, this liturgy was worked out in a very different situation. It was not the public worship of the city of Basel but rather the worship of a group of people who had been requested to make as little disturbance as possible. Beside that, the texts had taken form at a time when the controversy with Luther over the meaning of the Lord's Supper had become more than apparent. Let us now study this liturgy.

First, we notice in the Communion Admonition an emphasis on the doctrine of μυστήριον. If Zwingli had understood the Lord's Supper by means of the words κοινωνία, εὐχαριστία and ἀνάμνησις, Oecolampadius, doubtless-ly under the influence of the Greek Fathers, added a fourth word, μυστήριον. In fact Oecolampadius' whole Communion Admonition is an explanation of the word "mystery," the word the Greek Fathers used for sacrament. It is an explanation of the word by means of the different usages which the word receives in the New Testament. We find four points in the explanation. (1) "Our mystery is: that Christ is for us the bread of life"². Essentially it is Christ who is the mystery³. The mystery is Christ but especially Christ in us (Col. 1:27). The mystery is that Christ is the one who strengthens us (Rom. 16:25-26). The same idea is expressed by the famous passages of the Gospel of John on the Bread of Life and the True Vine⁴. (2) Oecolampadius goes on, "Further-

¹ Waldenmaier, Gottesdienstordnungen, p. 25, sees no relation between the liturgy of Basel and those of Strasbourg and Zurich. Waldenmaier unfortunately wishes to explain the whole of the Basel liturgy on the basis of "medieval worship." His basic problem, however, is that he has not penetrated very deeply into the exegetical and theological basis of the liturgies with which he has worked.

² Thompson, LWC, 211.

³ Cf., E. Schillebeeckx, (O.P.) *Le Christ, sacrement de la rencontre de Dieu* (Paris, 1960).

⁴ Cf., Günther Bornkamm's article on μυστήριον in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (Stuttgart, 1933), IV, 827. (Hereinafter referred to as ThWNT).

more, we declare ourselves to be united here in the one body of Christ, as disclosed in the unity of faith; and the substance of our faith is this: We believe in one God . . . "¹. Here the Creed is recited. In I Timothy 3:16 we find that mystery means a hymnic recounting of God's saving acts. In other words, it is a Creed². (3) The text tells us that one purpose of celebrating the sacrament is "to be united here in the one body of Christ." This is the meaning which Paul gives the word. The mystery is the uniting of all things in Christ, things in heaven and things in earth, the uniting of both Jew and Gentile in the body of Christ (Col. 2:2 and Eph. 1:9)³. (4) Finally, to know and to hold the mystery of the Kingdom of God is that which separates the disciples of Christ from those outside, the uninitiated. "To you has been given the secret of the Kingdom of God, but to those outside everything is in parables," (Mark 4:11; Matt. 13:11; Luke 8:10)⁴. It is in this sense that the Communion Admonition begins,

I admonish all who desire to receive this sacrament to prove themselves beforehand, whether they understand and hold the mystery of this sacrament, lest pearls be cast before swine, and they be guilty of the body and blood of Christ⁵.

One cannot neglect mentioning the similarity of approach to much recent Roman Catholic research on the subject, particularly the admirable opening chapters of the *Lumen gentium*.

A second important feature of the worship of Basel is its emphasis on the presence of Christ at the Eucharist in terms of table fellowship. This idea of the relation of table fellowship to covenant and sacrifice has its roots deep in Semitic culture. Oecolampadius and Pellikan had begun the Reformation in Basel by extensive lecturing on the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and so we are not surprised that they have turned to ancient Jewish thought forms to explain the Christian sacraments. The Communion Admonition says, "Wherefore we remember with thanksgiving the benefit of His body and blood Think of

¹ Thompson, LWC, 211.

² J.N.D. Kelly gives I Tim. 3:16 as an example of creedal elements in the New Testament. *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1950), 18-19. Cf., also ThWNT, IV, 828.

³ ThWNT, IV, 827.

⁴ ThWNT, IV, 823-825.

⁵ Thompson, LWC, 211.

it now as you sit with Christ . . ."¹. We find it noteworthy that in this phrase we have side by side both a strong statement of the Zwinglian position that in the Lord's Supper we are to remember the sacrifice of Christ and an equally clear statement that Christ is indeed present. He is present, not in the bread and wine, but at the table; not on the table but at the table. Here we clearly see why Reformed Churches have tried to make the Lord's Table look like a table and the celebration as a whole look like a meal.

A third feature of the liturgy of Basel is the way the anamnesis and the thanksgiving have been joined together and expressed through a very sensitive selection of Scripture readings. Among the passages suggested by the first two liturgies of Basel we find the following selections: Psalm 22, which is chosen because it was regarded as a hymnic prophecy of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ; Isaiah 53, the song of the Suffering Servant, was used for the same reason; Philippians 2:5-11, an early Christian hymn of praise for the Incarnation, the Crucifixion and Glorification of our Lord; finally the Passion Narrative from one of the Gospels is to be read. Through the reading of these hymnic accounts of God's saving acts the memorial of thanksgiving was celebrated. We can imagine that for those who attended these services in the opening years of the Reformation, these Scripture readings were among the most beautiful and moving parts of the service.

A fourth feature of the Basel service is the clearly stated inclusion of alms-giving in the eucharistic liturgy. The giving of alms comes at the end of the service when the pastor dismisses the congregation with the following words:

You are commended to have love among yourselves and especially toward the poor. The peace of Christ be with you². Amen³.

¹ The original text says *sesset jr bey Christo*. This is the regular German idiom used for sitting at the table with someone. The German preposition *bei* is admittedly often difficult to render in English; nevertheless, at this point we must differ with the translation of Bard Thompson, which otherwise we have always found most helpful. Thompson, LWC, 214.

² The dismissing of the faithful "in peace," or "in the peace of Christ" was also the custom of the Syrian Church as can be seen from the sermons of John Chrysostom, the Apostolic Constitutions and the Liturgy of St. James. For the relevant texts see *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. I: *Eastern Liturgies* ed. by F.E. Brightman (Oxford, 1965), 27, 67-68, 397, 481. (This is a lithographic reprint of the 1896 edition). For a discussion of these texts see Jungmann, MS, II, 536.

³ Thompson, LWC, 215.

For the Reformed understanding it is the act of giving which is the connection between the service in the sanctuary and the service in the world.

In the space of little more than a year the Reformed Church produced at least three basic types of liturgy. They were produced by a school of theologians who were in close contact with one another and constantly influenced one another. These liturgies are best understood as different attempts to do the same thing, to restore the worship of the ancient Church.

E. THE SHARING OF INSIGHTS

1. Bern¹

With the Disputation of Bern in 1528, we begin to see the various Reformed Churches exchanging ideas². One might say that here we begin to recognize a synodical or conciliar feeling. The fact that this feeling for the conciliar nature of the Church appears is only natural when we remember that two of the most important cities in the early history of the Reformed Church were Basel and Constance, cities where only a century before ecumenical councils had been held. The reform of the city and canton of Bern was not the independent movement of a local church, but rather a reform in fellowship with sister churches. Nor was the working out of a confession of faith, a liturgy, a system of discipline, and a church government simply a matter of copying the pattern of a mother church such as Zurich, Basel or Strasbourg. The Disputation of Bern gave the local pastors such as Berchtold Haller, Niklaus von Wattenwyl, Peter Cyro, and Franz Kolb the possibility of seeking the advice of other Reformers and discussing the attempts which had already been made at reforming the Church.

With the Disputation of Bern the development of the Reformed Church moves from the level of being the reformation of a few independent cities and begins to show itself as a movement in the Church which transcended civic, regional and national boundaries. To be sure, the Swiss cities of Basel, Zurich, St. Gallen, Schaffhausen and Biel were present. The Roman Catholic bishops of Chur, Lausanne, Constance and Basel had been invited but did not attend.

¹ Richard Feller, *Geschichte Berns*, II: Von der Reformation bis zum Baurkrieg 1516-1653 (Bern, 1953), especially pp. 155-161; *Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1896-1913), II, 614-619; Adolf Fluri, "Das Berner Taufbuchlein von 1528," *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, XII, (1895), 103-188; Adolf Fluri, *Die Beziehungen Berns zu den Buchdruckern in Basel, Zürich und Genf, 1476-1536*, (Bern, 1913) pp. 34-35 and 39-40.

² Properly speaking it was not until much later that one began to speak of "Reformed Churches."

Oecolampadius and Zwingli were of course important participants. On the other hand, to call it a Swiss synod would be mistaken. The presence of William Farel was to be of decisive significance for the future of French-speaking Protestantism. The two leading Alsatian Reformers, Wolfgang Capito and Martin Bucer exercised a great influence on the meeting. Such German Reformers as Johannes Zwick and Ambrosius Blarer of Constance and the Reformer of Ulm, Konrad Sam, were of equal importance. The free imperial city of Augsburg, which through the preaching of Michael Keller had by 1527 definitely taken its stand with the Reformed churches, had sent a delegation of its pastors. The Disputation of Bern was neither a convention of Zwinglian theologians, nor a conclave of Swiss churchmen but rather an assembly of Reformed pastors.

It was not until a year after the Disputation of Bern that we find in the Bern Service Book of 1529 the text of the Bernese Eucharistic liturgy¹. It is made up very simply of ten elements. (1) The Invocation, in which the service is constituted in the name of the Lord begins the service. (2) A Confession of Sin, closely modeled on the Confiteor, follows. The prayer is not, however, followed by a proclamation of God's forgiveness. (3) The Creed is recited in a version which is the same as the version used in Basel and which goes back to the translation found in Surgant's *Manuale curatorum*. (4) Prayers of Intercession are included in the Bern Service Book of 1529 but their place in the order of service is not indicated. Their similarity to the Zurich forms is evident. (5) Before the distribution of the sacrament there is a Communion Admonition. It stresses that the Lord's Supper is for those who believe in Christ and follow him. The Lord's Supper is explained as a spiritual food. It is celebrated with praise, proclamation, and thanksgiving. Because in the sacrament we have fellowship with God and with one another, we are therefore to approach the table with joy. The Communion Admonition con-

¹ The Bern Service Book of 1529 has the title *Ordnung unnd satzung dess Eegrichts, straff dess Eebruchs und Hury ze Bernn. Ouch form unnd gestalt der Eeelüten ynfürung, dess Touffs unnd Herrn Nachtmal, wie es ze Bernn gebrucht wirdt* (Zurich: Christoffel Froschaur, 1529). There was a Bern Service Book of 1528: *Ein kurtze gmeine form, kinder zetauffen, Die Ee zebestüten, Die Predig an zefahen und zu enden, wie es zu Bernn gebrucht wird* (Zurich: Christoffel Froschaur, 1528). An eucharistic liturgy is not included in this book. Unfortunately, we have not found a modern edition of either of these liturgical works. The original editions can be found in the Stadtbibliothek at Bern.

cludes by reminding the congregation that by participating they are making a confession of Christian faith. (6) The Words of Institution are read from one of the Gospels or from I Corinthians. (7) The Communion itself is the high point of the service. The text calls attention to the importance of recovering the "dominical action" as the essence of the service. (8) After the Communion there is a Postcommunion Admonition in which the faithful are directed to pray that the benefits of communion take effect in their lives through their dying to sin and their having love for their neighbors. (9) The Aaronic Benediction follows as we found to be the case in Strasbourg. (10) The service is concluded by the giving of alms.

This Bernese liturgy is marked by its great simplicity. In contrast to Basel we find only a single reading of Scripture. Unlike the literary formulations of prayer which we find in Zurich we find in Bern only certain indications of how the prayer might go. There is no psalmody, either read as in Zurich or sung as in Constance and Strasbourg. A number of elements in the service are of local origin such as the Communion Admonition and the Post-communion Admonition. Our general impression is that the Bernese liturgy represents an attempt at reaching a consensus, but unfortunately the consensus seems to have been achieved by eliminating those elements which were not common to all other Reformed Churches. As unfortunate as this undoubtedly is, there is certainly one very positive thing about the service. The dominical action itself, that is the sharing of bread and wine, is put in high relief.

2. Memmingen¹

With the Memmingen Service Book of 1529 we find a Reformed liturgy which represents an attempt to arrive at a synthesis of the various existing Reformed liturgies but here the synthesis is achieved by addition rather

¹ The Memmingen Service Book of 1529: Ordnung und Brauch dess Herrn nachtmals, in der Christlichen Gemein zu Memmingen, Auf Ostern im neun- und zwainzigsten jar gehalten (Memmingen: n.n., 1529). A modern edition of the text is found in Sehling, Kirchenordnungen, XII, 239-246.

than subtraction. The small but important imperial free city of Memmingen had under the leadership of its preacher, Christoph Schappeler, committed itself to the Reformation early. Since 1479, there had been an important endowed pulpit at St. Martin's Church in Memmingen. In 1513, Schappeler was given the position which he exercised until 1526. As early as 1522 Schappeler had been preaching against the Roman Mass. On December 7, 1524, was celebrated what might be considered the first Reformed liturgy of the Lord's Supper. Schappeler was succeeded in the Fall of 1526 by Simprecht Schenk who led the Reformation in Memmingen for the next twenty years until he was deposed by the Interim. In November, 1528, the city council invited Ambrosius Blarer, one of the Reformers of Constance, to draw up a liturgy for them. Fortunately the text of this liturgy has come down to us. It might be outlined as follows:

Metrical Psalm
Salutation
Prayer for the Grace of Praise
Epistle, I Cor. 11
Gloria in excelsis
Prayer for Illumination
Gospel, John 6:47-63
Metrical Psalm or Hymn
Sermon or Communion Admonition
Prayer of Intercession
 for the necessities of the Church
 for the magistrate and all men
 Lord's Prayer
Creed
Prayer for Faith
Dismissals
Confession of Sin and Absolution
Words of Institution
Communion
 Metrical Psalms are sung during communion
Post-communion Admonition
Psalm 113
Ten Commandments
Benediction
Alms

In investigating the text of the liturgy of Memmingen, we find that large sections have simply been taken over word for word from the liturgies of Basel, Zurich and Strasbourg. The dismissals and admonitions against unworthy participation are taken over exactly from Basel. The psalmody and hymnody come from Strasbourg and Constance. The opening prayer along with the Prayer for Faith are from Zwingli although Blarer asks the faithful to repeat the prayer

after him¹. The antiphonal setting of the Creed, the Gloria, and Psalm 113 likewise come from Zurich. The Prayer for Illumination from Strasbourg has been used. All the liturgical forms in the Memmingen service seem to have been borrowed in about equal portions from Basel, Zurich, Strasbourg and Constance².

¹ "Lasset uns Got bitten umb ain starken glauben und herzlichs vertrauen in in und sprecht mir nach." Sehling, Kirchenordnungen, XII, 243.

² Unfortunately, the liturgy of Constance has not come down to us. The Constance Service Book of 1526 has been lost since 1826. Form und Ordnung wie von dem Pfarrer zu Sant Steffan in Constantz und seinen Curaten, mit Touffen, Richten infuren und den abgestorben gehalten würt (n.p., n.n., 1526). For further information on this liturgy see Bernd Moeller, Johannes Zwick und die Reformation in Konstanz (Gütersloh, 1961), p. 275. (Hereinafter referred to as Johannes Zwick). Three works which do give us some information on the worship of Constance are Johannes Spreter, Christliche instruction und frintlich ermanung, Göttlichs wort anzenemen, der Kirchen Christi in der Stat Rotweil, durch Joannem Spreter nühlich zugeschickt (n.p., 1627). (Cf., Waldenmaier, Gottesdienstordnung, p. 28). Antwort der Prediger des Evangeliums Christi Zuo Constentz vff Melchior Vattlin Wychbischoffs dasselbst, vngegründts buechlin, so er von dem Sacrament des Herren Nachtmal, wie es im angang der Kirchen gebrucht sygn worden, kurtzlich hat Vssgon lassen (Zurich: Ch. Froschauer, 1526); the Constance Hymn Book of 1540: Nüw gsangbüchle von vil schönen Psalmen vnd geistlichen liedern, durch ettliche diener der Kirchen zuo Constenz vnn anderstwo merklichen gemeert, gebessert vnd in geschickte ordnung zesamen gstellt, zuo übung vnnnd bruch jrer ouch anderer Christlichen Kirchen (Zurich: Ch. Froschauer, 1540).

In fact, the Memmingen Service Book is the best example which has come down to us of a whole family of Reformed liturgies. The center of this family was Constance with its college of Reformed pastors, Johannes Zwick, Johannes Wanner, Johannes Spreter and Ambrosius Blarer. In addition to the Memmingen Service Book of 1529, there were several other liturgies which evidently were influenced by the worship of Constance. Kempten had prepared a liturgy based on that of Memmingen and Lindau had had a liturgy prepared by Johannes Zwick and Wolfgang Capito, which also has been lost.

On the basis of the Memmingen Service Book of 1529 supported by a few other sources, which fortunately have been preserved, such as the Constance Hymn Book of 1540 we can perhaps speak of four distinctive characteristics of this family of liturgies. In the first place, it favored a more regular celebration of Holy Communion than the yearly communion in the medieval Church or the quarterly communion in Zurich. Secondly, the Constance theology stressed the social implications and ethical demands of eucharistic fellowship. It strongly favored the development of a solid church discipline and had no inhibitions about expressing this in the liturgy, (Cf., Fritz Hauss, "Blarers Zuchtordnungen," Der Konstanzer Reformator Ambrosius Blarer, ed. by Bernd Moeller (Konstanz, 1964), pp. 114-127).

3. The Confessio Tetrapolitana¹

The Diet of Augsburg, held in the Spring and Summer of 1530, put upon the Reformed churches of the empire the responsibility of drawing up a statement of their common faith. This confession of faith, the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, was largely prepared by Jakob Sturm and the Strasbourg theologians,

Thirdly, it developed a church calendar which while opposing the observance of Lent and Advent, nevertheless, celebrated the five evangelical festivals of Christmas, Circumcision, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, three Marian festivals, the Annunciation, the Purification and the Assumption, the Feast of John the Baptist and the days of the Twelve Apostles (Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, XII, pp. 235-236; cf., also the similar list of feasts for Lindau, *Ibid.*, 215). As evidence that this was basically a tradition of Constance we point to the fact that in the Constance Hymn Book of 1540 we find hymns for the five evangelical festivals together with Good Friday. For the Marian feasts and the Apostles' days we find no hymns, however. From Zwick we find a hymn for Christmas and a hymn for Ascension. From Ambrosius Blarer we find a hymn for Ascension and a hymn for Pentecost; from Thomas Blarer, his brother, we find a hymn for the Circumcision and a hymn for Easter. There is also a hymn for Good Friday from Sebaldus Heyd of Nuremberg. The fourth characteristic of this Constance family of liturgies is its inclusion of hymns and spiritual songs as well as psalms. While Zurich sang no hymns at all and while for the most part the Church of Strasbourg tried to limit itself to the singing of metrical psalms, the Church of Constance and those following its lead held to the principle that "songs of human composure" could also be used in worship. It is important to point out that not only did it approve the idea but the Reformers of Constance produced some of the best hymns to come out of the Reformation (cf., Bernd Moeller, *Johannes Zwick*, pp. 203-210; Markus Jenny, "Ambrosius Blarer als Dichter und Hymnologue," *Der Konstanzer Reformator Ambrosius Blarer*, pp. 87-113). What is particularly clear in the Memmingen Service Book of 1529 is that already hymns for the evangelical festivals are indicated for the liturgy. In speaking of the hymn that was to precede the sermon we read that for Easter, Thomas Blarer's Easter hymn "Christ ist erstanden von dem Tod" (K.F.P. Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von Martin Luther bis auf Nicolaus Her- man und Ambrosius Blaurer* (Stuttgart, 1841). (Hereinafter referred to as *deutsche Kirchenlied.*) might be used while for Pentecost "Kom Heiliger Geist" would be appropriate (Blarer seems to have in mind one of Luther's two hymns which begin with the words "Kum heiliger geist," Wackernagel, *deutsche Kirchenlied*, Nr. 164 and 199, rather than either of his own hymns for Pentecost, Wackernagel, Nr. 573 and 575).

¹ A recent critical edition of the text has been given us by Bernd Moeller in *BDS*, III, 36-185. Included in this volume are a number of documents relevant to the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* together with an excellent introduction. This edition makes a considerable advance on the text given in E.F. Karl Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirchen* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 55-78. (Hereinafter referred to as *Bekenntnisschriften*). Cf., also Eells, *Martin Bucer*, pp. 99-108.

but the city of Constance also exercised an influence. Ambrosius Blarer had prepared a defense of the local Reformation which had been sent to Augsburg with the delegation of Constance¹. The *Confessio Tetrapolitana* was subscribed by four free cities of the empire, Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau. Although the Swiss cities, being outside the empire, were not directly concerned, Bucer kept in contact with them both before and during the diet. The *Tetrapolitana* was officially adopted by only four cities but it was well known that a number of important cities such as Augsburg, Ulm and Frankfurt were basically in agreement as well as smaller cities such as Isny, Biberach and Kempten. One might even go so far as to say that while the *Confessio Augustana* was the confession of the Protestant princes, the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* was the confession of the Protestant cities².

¹ Moeller, Johannes Zwick, pp. 111-115.

² The *Confessio Tetrapolitana* has never won the reputation with the Reformed Church that its sister confession the *Confessio Augustana* has with the Lutheran Church. We might give three reasons for this. First, there was the political situation which was felt especially keenly by the magistrates of the Reformed cities. The cities were sensitive to the political implications of Melancthon's attempt to justify the catholicity of the Lutheran doctrine of the sacraments, accentuating the more radical nature of the Reformed teaching. To the cities this seemed like an attempt to unite the North German Protestant princes with the Catholic emperor against the Reformed cities. To theologians of today this seems foolish, but Martin Bucer, no less than the magistrates of Strasbourg and Constance saw what political sense it indeed made. The *Tetrapolitana*, therefore, although it was a Reformed Confession of Faith, tried to underplay the distinctive features of the theology of the South German cities. (The objections of the magistrates of Constance to Bucer's chapter on the Eucharist are especially instructive. Bucer was already the leader of attempts to find a compromise between the Reformed and Lutheran doctrines of the Lord's Supper. The theologians of Constance on the other hand, were supporters of a view which emphasized the social and ethical aspects of the sacrament which, while not identical with the position of Zwingli, was still equally distant from the position of Luther. In spite of this fact, the magistrates of Constance insisted that the article of Bucer emphasized the differences too much and they said they just did not follow all the "theological" discussion. (BDS, III, 122-124, note 49). Secondly, it was composed rather hastily. At first the Reformed cities had sent no theologians with their delegations. They would have preferred to have simply signed the *Confessio Augustana* without the article on the Lord's Supper. By June twentieth it was clear that that would not be possible. Capito and Bucer had already been sent for and by June twenty-seventh they had arrived and begun to work. On the thirtieth of June they were able to show the proposed confession of faith to other cities. (For a concise history of the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* see the introduction to Bernd Moeller's recent edition of the document, BDS, III, 15-33). Thirdly, it was evolved from a list, drawn up by Jacob Sturm, of apologetical explanations of the official decisions of the city council of Strasbourg over a

The *Confessio Tetrapolitana* is concerned primarily with a defense of practical measures taken in the reforming of worship and discipline, which makes the confession most interesting for a study of the history of Reformed worship. A study of five of these questions helps us better understand the real purposes behind the reform of worship in the South German cities.

1. The first article of the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* establishes that preaching is to be based on Scripture¹. In a number of cities this had been decreed by the city council early in the Reformation: Zurich, January 29, 1523; Basel, May-June, 1523; Bern, June 15, 1523; Mulhouse, June-December, 1523; Strasbourg, December 1, 1523; Constance, February 9, 1524. In some cities such as Frankfurt such a decree had been followed by the official establishment of endowed pulpits at the insistence of the inhabitants who wished to hear exegetical preaching².

2. Articles VII to X are concerned with prayer and fasting. Great attention is given to the subject and the position of the *Tetrapolitana* on this is indeed instructive. Prayer and fasting are worthy exercises of Christian piety which Reformed pastors are in the custom of encouraging³. Fasting is a disciplining of desire in which we turn away from this world, while prayer is turning of our hearts toward God. Fasting is a practice of piety having particularly to do with hope. Paul teaches us that since love is more important than either faith or hope we should not let fasting interfere with those practices of piety which have to do with love and the aid of our neighbor such as preaching and the care of the poor. The Reformers particularly objected to set periods of fasting such as Advent and Lent. Fasting should be an inner discipline rather than the outward and legalistic form which the Reformers found the practice of their day to be⁴. A passage of Irenaeus is quoted to show

period of years which had step by step introduced the Reformation from 1523 to 1530. This list included a defense of exegetical preaching, the removal of images, the discontinuance of the office, the suppression of the mass, the setting aside of fasting seasons, and the granting of permission for clergymen to marry. It was, therefore, that for a confession of faith it gave a peculiarly large portion of its attention to questions of worship and discipline.

¹ BDS, III, 42-44.

² Waldenmaier, *Gottesdienstordnungen*, p. 44.

³ BDS, III, pp. 66-67.

⁴ BDS, III, pp. 76-77.

that the ante-Nicene Church had not yet established a uniform system of forty days of Lenten fasting. In some churches one fasted only for a single day, in others one counted forty hours, others two days, and still others longer periods¹. Influenced by another passage in Eusebius, the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* points out the error of those who like the Encratites, the Manicheans and the Marcionites, illustrated their denial of the material world by abstaining from marriage and certain foods². Paul is quoted to show that the material things of this world are good if they are received with thanksgiving (I Tim. 4:3-4). The final objection which we find to fasting is that there were those who expected to earn their salvation through ascetic practices. On the contrary, we should pray in order that we might receive our salvation as a gift from God. We should fast in order that we be not hindered from our prayers and that our flesh might be disciplined and obedient³.

3. Article XII has to do with monasticism. The first criticism which we find leveled against monasticism is that it withdraws men from their responsibilities to society. Secondly, we learn that monasticism is against natural law.

4. Article XXI has to do with "Common Song and the Prayer of the Clergy." This article tells us that the writings of the Fathers and the church histories show us that the office had indeed a very long history. The Reformers lament that such an ancient tradition had become so devoid of spiritual worth. We are told that the regular reading of Scripture lessons had dwindled to the reading of a single verse. Too many psalms were sung and they were sung with neither reverence nor understanding. That the psalms were sung in a foreign language is found especially objectionable.

5. Article XXII has to do with statues and pictures. Three reasons are given against the use of images in the church. First it is a clear transgression of Scripture. Besides that, it involves the spending of great amounts of money which might better be spent to aid the poor. Finally, the gift of works of art to the church had often been motivated by a desire to win God's favor. The

¹ This fragment from Irenaeus was known to the Reformers in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* V, xxiv, 12-13. Another indication of more ancient fasting practice known to the Reformers was Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* V, xxii.

² This information about the relation of rigorous fasting in certain ancient sects was easy to discover from the sources known to the Reformers. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* V, xviii, 2.

³ BDS, III, 82-83.

omissions in this list are more interesting than the reasons. There is no speculation on how images might relate to the doctrine of the Incarnation. Nothing is said about the invisibility, immateriality or the transcendence of God.

From a study of these articles we can draw some very important conclusions about the nature of early Reformed worship. On one hand, it would seem that the simplicity of Reformed worship has not so much to do with a denial of the material world as with a concern for the inward as opposed to the outward. If it had been a question of the opposition of physical and spiritual the confession would never have given the analysis of fasting which it did. In the acceptance of clerical marriage, in the concern that the clergy do justice to its social responsibilities and in stressing those works of piety which aid the poor, we find that the Reformers steered safely away from a gnostic opposition of spirit and matter.

On the other hand, we find no denial of Christian asceticism after the pattern of Italian Humanism. Much of the simplicity of Reformed liturgy is to be understood as the closing of the door to the advances of the essentially humanistic grandeurs of Renaissance art. This is particularly clear in the question of fasting. It is not the asceticism of fasting that makes the problem, the turning away from desires of the world, but its outward legalistic character. The Reformers had no objection to music as long as it was reverent and simple enough for the people to sing and understand. It was against overly complicated and sumptuous music that the Reformers objected. The rejection of church art was not that it was material or physical but rather that it was luxurious. From our text it is clear that Christian art was rejected because its expense was inconsistent with the Church's concern for the poor and because it was hopelessly compromised by its relation to a financial system which the Church could not approve.

Among the documents of the Diet of Augsburg we find a most interesting statement about the Eucharistic liturgy of the Reformed churches. In the *Apologetica Confessio Tetrapolitanae* prepared by Bucer, but prepared by him in careful consultation with other Reformed theologians¹, we find a statement that the cities which had signed the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* celebrate Communion according to the following liturgy:

¹ Cf., B. Moeller's introduction to the apologetical writing of the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, BDS, III, 189-193, especially p. 90, notes 14 and 15.

. . . Those who truly believe in Christ are admonished to true faith and are united together in that true faith. They confess themselves to be sinners praying God for grace and sing several psalms and spiritual songs together. They hear the Holy Gospel which is explained and applied in such Christian manner that the people might make it part of their lives. Then they pray together for all the needs of the churches and it is explained to them how the Lord held his Holy Supper and how he commanded it to be held together with an explanation of those words by which he gave to us his body and blood. After that they receive with all devotion the holy sacrament, give to him all praise and thanks and so doing are dismissed in peace with God's benediction. This order is the order, as anyone can see, which Christ himself established, which was taught and practiced by the Apostles, as well as by all ancient and true Christians.¹

Admittedly, the service outlined here has many similarities with the liturgy of Bucer's own church. The text, however, makes it clear that Bucer intends this description to be more than a reflection of the liturgy of Strasbourg. A careful examination of the text shows that it is not strictly speaking the liturgy of Strasbourg. In place of the Absolution we find a prayer for grace. Strasbourg's preference for psalms is supplemented with the explicit mention of spiritual songs. The Prayer for Illumination is not mentioned. In 1530, Strasbourg did not yet have a Post-communion Thanksgiving. It would seem that the liturgy outlined here does, indeed, represent the fruit of discussions which Bucer had had with the ministers of a large group of Reformed churches as to the essential elements of the Reformed liturgy.

¹ "Die an Christum warlich glauben, werden zu solchem vermanet und gesamlet, die bekennen sich da alss arme sunder bitten Gott umb gnade, singen in gemeyn ettliche psalmen und geystliche lieder, horen das heylig Evangelion mit Christlicher ermanung, dem selbigen zu geleben. Alssdann bitten sie in gemeyn fur alle notdurfft der Kirchen, wurt inen daruff verkundiget, wie der Herr sein heyligs Nachtmal gehalten und zu halten befolhen hat mit erzelung deren wort, damit er uns seinen leib und blut geschenckt hat. Demnach empfaehen sie mit aller andacht die heyligen Sacrament, sagen im lob und danck und werden also im friden mit dem segen gottes hingelossen. Diser brauch ist nun, wie kundtlich, also von Christo selb eingesetzet, von Apostolen gelert und geubet, wie auch bey allen alten, woren Christen."
BDS, III, pp. 291-292.

4. The Church of Augsburg¹

A study of the Augsburg Psalter of 1530-1531 shows it to be a document of great interest for the history of Reformed worship². It represents a classic statement of the objective of those who wished worship to be "reformed

¹ At the time the Diet of Augsburg assembled the city was predominantly Reformed although both Catholic and Lutheran rites were celebrated in the city at the same time. At the beginning of the Reformation, John Oecolampadius occupied the cathedral pulpit from 1518 to 1520. It was to two brothers of a prominent Augsburg family, Bernhard and Konrad von Adelman, that he dedicated his first translation of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus. With the outbreak of the Lord's Supper controversy, Augsburg found itself divided between the Lutheran and Reformed positions. Within two years, Michael Keller, through a popular preaching ministry, had won the city for the Reformed side. This was the state of affairs when the Diet of Augsburg met between June 15, 1530 and November 23, 1530.

The actual sessions of the Diet of Augsburg were often interspersed with long periods of waiting. Some of this time Bucer evidently used for making the acquaintance of such prominent citizens of Augsburg as Geron Sailer, a learned physician, and Urbanus Rhegius, the successor of Oecolampadius (Eells, Martin Bucer, 103). We can also assume that he made the acquaintance of Michael Keller as well. That during the long summer the reform of worship in the churches of Augsburg would have been discussed seems a likely supposition. One thing can be said with certainty, Bucer made friendships in Augsburg during that summer which would give him an important influence upon the development of the Augsburg liturgy. The following year it was to Bucer that the city of Augsburg turned for suggestions for pastors. Bucer suggested several men, among them Bonifatius Wolfhart and a young patristic scholar, Wolfgang Musculus, whose edition of the sermons of John Chrysostom we shall have occasion to mention in the following chapters (Eells, Martin Bucer, 119-120).

² Form vnd ordnung gaystlicher Gesang vnd Psalmen, welche Gott dem Herrn zuo lob vnd eer gesungen werden. Auch das Fruegebett, an stat der Bäbstlichen Mess zuo halten. Alles von newem Corrigiert gemert und gebessert (n.p., n.n., n.d.). For a modern edition of the text cf., Sehling, Kirchenordnungen, XII, 35-38. The introductory study in Sehling is most helpful, 17-32.

Unfortunately, no documents have come down to us of the earliest Reformed liturgy for the Lord's Supper. It is possible that Oecolampad's Form und Gestalt which we remember was published in Augsburg was used in Augsburg. An Augsburg Psalter of 1529 is known to have existed but the only known copy perished in the Second World War. We do possess an Augsburg Psalter of 1530-1531 which may or may not be a second edition of the Psalter of 1529. Unfortunately, it does not contain a liturgy for the Lord's Day but only the service held on week-day mornings in place of the mass. (The psalter does not carry a date, but Wackernagel assigns it the date 1530: Das deutsche Kirchenlied, 739-740. Saalfeld gives it a date late in 1531: Hans Saalfeld, "Jakob Dachser, Priester, Wiedertäufer, evangelischer Pfarrer. Ein Leben zwischen den Zeiten," Zeitschrift für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte, XXXI (1962), 20. (Hereinafter referred to as

according to the Word of God." The norm for Christian worship is found in Acts 2 : 42,

. . . and they continued in the teaching and fellowship of the Apostles, in the breaking of bread, and in prayers.

The service begins with a very well formulated Prayer of Confession which is followed by an Absolution. It is similar, although not identical, to those we have found in Bern, Basel and especially in Strasbourg. This is followed by a Prayer of Intercession which shows the influence of various New Testament admonitions to prayer. There is a prayer for the Church, a prayer for the ministry, a prayer for the magistrate, a prayer for those not yet enlightened, a prayer for those persecuted for the sake of the Gospel, a prayer for the special needs of the Church and finally a prayer for the needs of those who are present. It is concluded by the Lord's Prayer. We find that while this prayer follows in the tradition of Surgant, just as those of Basel, Zurich and Strasbourg, nevertheless the prayer shows a markedly independent development. It has a comprehensiveness and yet a restraint and catholicity of expression which are admirable. The service continued with the exposition of a passage of Scripture which is to last but a quarter of an hour. The service comes to an end with the Aaronic Benediction, the singing of a psalm and the giving of alms. Along with this order for morning prayer we find a surprisingly large collection of 105 hymns, eighty-five of which are psalms. A number of the psalms are put in meter by Jakob Dachser, the greatly respected associate pastor of St. Ulrich's Church in Augsburg¹.

From a study of this liturgy several things become quite apparent. The number of hymns included in the psalter would indicate that the Protestants of Augsburg had been singing hymns and especially psalms for some time². The

"Jakob Dachser.") We are inclined to identify the document edited by Sehling, *Form und ordnung des Herren nachtmal betreffend*, pp. 40-43, as a transcript of the Communion Admonitions used at communion services rather than an attempt to either establish or describe the complete eucharistic worship of the Reformed Church of Augsburg.

¹ Saalfeld, "Jakob Dachser," 1-29.

² It is especially interesting to note that in addition to the hymns of local poets we find psalms from the Strasbourg writers Vogtherr, Oehler, Pollio and Musculus, as well as from the Nuremberg hymn writers Sachs and Heyd and compositions from Luther. Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, 738-740.

quality of expression of the prayers indicates that there was nothing casual or provisory about the Reformed worship of the city. The forms of Augsburg are an expression of the vitality of the early Protestantism of one of the leading and most cosmopolitan cities of Germany rather than what is usually claimed: the importing of "foreign" Swiss influence¹. On the other hand, both the similarity of approach and basic forms show that the Augsburg Psalter of 1530-31 belongs to the same tradition as Basel, Strasbourg, Constance and Zurich. To a certain extent this is to be explained by the fact that the ecclesiastical tradition of Augsburg had been linked to Strasbourg, Constance and Basel for some time. Augsburg shared with these cities the tradition of South German Christian Humanism. Augsburg was also heir to the tradition of Surgant, Wimpfeling and Geiler. Finally we feel that the excellence of this liturgy owes something to insights which the Augsburg pastors gained from the exchange of ideas involved in the writing and defense of the Tetrapolitana.

5. Ulm²

Probably the most important exchange of ideas on liturgical questions among the various Reformed theologians took place in relation to the official

¹ Waldenmaier's treatment of Augsburg seems to us especially weak, for in neither the Augsburg Psalter of 1530-31 nor the service books of 1537 do we find justification for speaking of a "Swiss Order of Service." Waldenmaier, *Gottesdienstordnungen*, 47-51. If one must speak of "outside influence" then one must speak of the Alsacian city of Strasbourg rather than the Swiss cities of Zurich and Basel. Even admitting the similarity to Strasbourg one must still recognize in the Augsburg psalters an original character.

² The liturgical reforms of the Church of Ulm are to be found in the Ulm Reformation Articles of 1531: *Ordnung die ain Ersamer Rath der Statt Ulm in abstellung hergeprachter etliche misspreuch, in jrer Stat und gepietten zuhalten fürgenommen, wie alle sündliche, widerchristliche laster Gott dem allmechtigen zu lob, auch zu braiterung der liebe des nechsten, abgewendt, vermitteln, Und wie die ubertretter derselben gestrafft und gepüsst werden sollen.* (n.p., 1531), and in the Ulm Service Book of 1531: *Handbüchlin darinn begriffen ist die Ordnung und weiss, wie die Sacrament unnd Ceremonien der Kirchen zu Ulm gebraucht und gehalten werden* (n.p., 1531). The text of Ulm Reformation Articles of 1531 are to be found in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahr-*

establishment of the Reformation by the imperial free city of Ulm in 1531. The city invited several of the most distinguished Reformed pastors to assist in the drawing up of a church constitution including a liturgy. The Reformation in Ulm had been ripening under the ministry of Konrad Sam who had been preaching the Reformation since 1524. In many ways we find this procedure of establishing the Reformation in fellowship with sister churches in a particularly notable fashion in Ulm. Political realities, it is often said, influenced the selection of Reformers invited. John Oecolampadius and Ambrosius Blarer were both Swabian by birth and that was bound to have its influence in the Swabian metropolis of Ulm. Konrad Sam would have liked to invite Zwingli as well, but since Ulm had entered the Schmalkaldic League such an invitation would have been impossible¹. The cities which Blarer and Bucer represented were probably considered an asset by the politicians of Ulm. Both Constance and Strasbourg were important free cities of the empire². Whatever the politics involved might have been, the city of Ulm had invited three of the most able leaders of the Reformed Church to guide the reformation of its church.

Blarer, Bucer and Oecolampadius spent several months together as guests in the house of Konrad Sam. What was said at that table and was discussed before that fireside we do not know, but if we did, surely we would learn much about the history of the polity, discipline and government of the Reformed Church. It was here that Bucer, one of the Reformers who gave special weight to the authority of the Church Fathers, discussed liturgical reform with Oecolampadius, one of the most learned patristic scholars of his time. It is therefore that we look at the decisions at Ulm with special interest.

hunderts, ed. by Aemilius Ludwig Richter (2 vols.; Weimar, 1846), vol. I, 157-160. (Hereinafter referred to as *evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*). Studies of these documents are to be found in Julius Endriss, *Das Ulmer Reformationsjahr 1531* (Ulm, 1931) and Waldenmaier, *Gottesdienstordnungen*, 31-32. On Bucer and the Reformation of Ulm cf., Eells, *Martin Bucer*, 119-121.

¹ Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 629 ff.

² Waldenmaier says, "Unter den oberschwäbischen Reichstädten, die der schweizerischen Reformation ihre Tore öffneten, spielte Ulm a.D. die erste Rolle," as though Ulm had betrayed the properly German Reformation of Wittenberg by going over to a foreign Swiss Reformation. Waldenmaier, *Gottesdienstordnungen*, 31.

In the Ulm Reformation Act of 1531 which was published on August 6, 1531, we find a number of decisions on liturgical matters which we will attempt to summarize under five headings:

1. Church Calendar. The Lord's Day is to be the only holiday observed. It is to be celebrated by the Hearing of the Word of God, prayers and other Christian observances. Since the old festivals had become a source of superstition, luxurious pomp and general revelry, they were to be discontinued. Nevertheless, on those days which are memorials of Christ, the days of the Apostles, and the days of martyrs, preachers may remember these events in their sermons. The seasons of fasting such as Advent and Lent are no longer to be observed.
2. Hymns and Prayers. Psalms and other Christian songs are to be sung. It is especially appropriate that the young be taught the hymnody of the Church.
3. Communion. In the city the Lord's Supper is to be held each Sunday in at least one of the churches. In the country churches it is to be held as often as seems appropriate to the size of the village.
4. Images. As soon as the people have been instructed in the Word of God, all images which have been set up to be adored in churches or other places shall be removed, but this is to be done in an orderly fashion so that all immaturity and undisciplined mockery be avoided.
5. Church Discipline. A committee of ministers and members of the congregation are to be put in charge of church discipline. Those who continue to offend the Church even after repeated warning are to be excluded from the congregation¹.

It is interesting to see how the discussion of certain questions is progressing. In the matter of the calendar we see the attempt at reaching a compromise between the position of Strasbourg which did away with all celebrations other than the Lord's Day and the position of Constance which allowed for the celebration of a limited list of church holidays. From the sermons of John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus, Oecolampadius had undoubtedly learned that it was indeed the practice of the ancient Church to preach sermons in celebration of martyrs. He had in fact translated some of these sermons as we shall see in the following chapter. The position of Zurich which observed the principal Christian festivals by the holding of the Eucharist as well as the Lutheran position which retained the seasons of the Christian year are both rejected. The Strasbourg concern for hymnody has been accepted over against Zurich's rejection. The position of Constance which added to its predominant use of psalms a certain number of "hymns of merely human composition" has been

¹ Richter, evangelischen Kirchenordnungen, I, pp. 158-159.

preferred to the practice of Strasbourg which used psalms almost exclusively. We find that Ulm follows Strasbourg and Basel in holding Holy Communion every Lord's Day. On the other hand, the concern of Basel for a solid church discipline has been adopted even more clearly than was the case in Basel. In the preparation of the liturgy of Ulm we see a cross-pollination taking place which will bear fruit in more than one Reformed liturgy¹.

¹ On September 27, 1531, the Church of Ulm produced its first service book, the Ulm Service Book of 1531. Unfortunately, this liturgy is not available in a modern edition. We find it rather surprising that this liturgy has never received the attention which it undoubtedly deserves. Waldenmaier's report of this liturgy (pp. 31-32) does not seem to be either sympathetic or careful. He leaves us with the impression that six Scripture passages are read. He has not called attention to the fact that the psalm which was used has obviously been quoted by its Vulgate numbering which probably means he has not seen the connection which this psalm has with the Lord's Supper. He enumerates four admonitions. Whether these admonitions are to be understood as twenty-minute sermons or whether they are short sentences he does not tell us. These two errors lead him to a misunderstanding. He speaks of "der eintönige, langatmige Charakter der Liturgie." He then goes on to say that the whole thing is taken over from Basel with a few additions from Zurich. In a footnote he explains that the liturgy resembles in fact the Basel liturgy of 1537 more than that of 1526. This he suggests is because there had been an earlier edition of the Basel Service Book of 1537, and that Ulm has simply taken things from this supposed Basel Service Book of circa 1530. (Waldenmaier, Gottesdienstordnungen, p. 32). With this supposition, he covers over a good clue to the importance of the liturgy of Ulm for the whole history of Protestant worship. The discussions between Bucer, Oecolampadius, Sam and Blarer brought about liturgical revisions in both Basel and Strasbourg.

F. THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH REFORMED WORSHIP

1. The Circle of Meaux¹

Just as we have traced the worship of the German-speaking Reformed churches to the Catholic reform movement of Geiler von Kayserberg, Surgant, Wimpfeling and his friends, so we trace the beginnings of French Reformed worship to the work of Jacques LeFèvre d'Étaples, Gérard Roussel and Bishop Guillaum Briçonnet. These reformers also must be considered inner-church reformers. They were Christian Humanists, not Protestants, although, Briçonnet excepted, they were far more sympathetic to Protestantism than either a Wimpfeling or an Erasmus. Nevertheless, the reforms of these men, and especially their common effort to improve Christian life and worship in the diocese of Meaux between 1518 and 1525, is surely one of the roots of French Reformed worship. Through the favor of Marguerite of Angoulême, duchess of Alençon, sister of Francis I and later Queen of Navarre, Briçonnet received the Bishopric of Meaux in the Duchy of Alençon. As Bishop of Meaux, Briçonnet called a group of young Christian Humanists to his aid, Jacques Pouent, Jean Lecompte de la Croix, Michel d'Arande, Martial Mazurier, Petrus Caroli, Gérard Roussel and Guillaum Farel². Through a ministry of preaching they were charged with making the people of the Church of Meaux familiar with the Scriptures. Preaching was only half of Briçonnet's program; the other half was the production of a French translation of the Bible and the writing of learned commentaries designed to aid the preacher. To this end Briçonnet called to Meaux the great French Humanist and Biblical scholar, Jacques Le Fèvre

¹ Cf., L.G. Léonard, *Histoire générale du Protestantisme* (3 vols.; Paris, 1961-64), Vol. I, pp. 24-25; H. Doerries, "Calvin und Lefèvre," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1925); Augustin Renaudet, "Un problème historique: la pensée religieuse de J. Lefèvre d'Étaples," *Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance*, No XXX (1958), 201-216.

² Of these, several beside Farel became Protestant Reformers. Petrus Caroli became Evangelical pastor in Lausanne, but finally returned to the Roman Catholic Church. Jacques Pouent was burned for heresy in Paris on August 28, 1526. Jean Lecomte de la Croix, who in Meaux is supposed to have collaborated with Le Fèvre on his commentary on the lectionary, later became pastor of Grandson in Switzerland.

d'Etaples and the Hebrew scholar François Vatable. He also enlisted the aid of Robert Estienne, a member of the publishing family which for several generations served the cause of the Reformation. In 1522 a commentary on the four Gospels was published. Already in 1512 Le Fèvre had published his translation of the Greek text of the Epistles of Paul. In 1525 he published his translation of the Catholic Epistles and also his commentary on the liturgical Gospels and Epistles¹. As mild as this reform was, it appeared to the University of Paris as a dangerous outbreak of "Lutheranism." To us, however, it seems closely allied to what we have called "reform through supplementing."² In the summer of 1525 the commentaries as well as the Biblical translations were condemned and by October, 1525, most of the preachers had been arrested, or had been ordered arrested.

2. The Circle of Meaux and the Churches of Basel and Strasbourg³

Toward the end of 1523, a number of reform-minded French subjects having to flee their native land gathered in the cities of Basel and Strasbourg.

¹ Les Choses contenues en ce present livre: Epistres et Evangiles pour les cinquante et deux sepmaines de lan: commencsans au premier dimenche de Ladvent. Pour la natiuite de nostre seigneur. Deux festes apres icelle Pour la circoncision lepiphanie Pour la purification Deux festes apres pasques Lascension Deux festes apres Pentecoste Chacun en son lieu, selon son ordre. Apres chascune epistre et euangile briefue exhortation selon lintelligence dicelle (Paris: S. duBois, 1525).

² There were certain aspects of this reform which from time to time went further. According to Renaudet the Ave Maria at the beginning of sermons was deleted; images began to disappear one after another and in the liturgy Latin was discreetly replaced by French. Renaudet, "Un problème historique", 214.

³ It would be a mistake to imagine that it was only a matter of geography which led the exiles of Meaux to take refuge in Strasbourg and Basel rather than Nuremberg or Wittenberg. The Alsacian Christian Humanists had for some time had especially strong ties with Paris. Heynlin, Brant and Surgant were all well known in Paris as well as such families as Amerbach and Cop. Through the enthusiasm of Beatus Rhenanus, Le Fèvre was well known in Strasbourg and Basel even before the Reformation began. Cf., A. Renaudet, *Préreformes et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)* (2nd ed.; Paris, 1953), 504-505 et passim. (Hereinafter referred to as *Préreformes et humanisme*).

Farel arrived in Basel and spent the winter as the guest of Oecolampadius. There he was joined by Anémond de Coct, and Pierre Toussaint. While there he entered into the theological discussion which so engaged the city with his famous debate of March 3, 1524. From the titles of the theses of this debate, it is quite clear that he shared the liturgical concerns of the German-speaking Reformers whom we have already studied¹. In May and June, Farel visited Zurich, Constance and Schaffhausen. This of course, was before there had been any changes in the worship of these cities. The discussion of liturgical reform, however, was certainly in full bloom. In July, Farel left Basel and began to preach in Montbéliard under the patronage of its prince, Ulrich of Württemberg. In all probability Farel did not present the church with its first Evangelical liturgy, since his ministry there lasted but a few months².

In April of 1525, Farel left Montbéliard and went to Strasbourg. There he remained as the guest of Wolfgang Capito until the end of 1526. During this time Roussel, Jacques LeFèvre, and the former Franciscan François Lambert d'Avignon, also received the hospitality of the learned Reformer. The reform of the liturgy which had just been instituted in Strasbourg was without doubt a frequent topic of conversation in the city. In two letters written by Roussel from Strasbourg in December of 1525, we find how favorably the chaplain of the Queen of Navarre viewed the liturgy of Strasbourg:

¹ It is unfortunate that we do not have as yet a comprehensive biography of Farel, nor do we have a treatment of his liturgical reforms. The one major work which we have is a publication of the University of Neuchâtel, Guillaume Farel, 1489-1565, ed. by the Comité Farel (Paris, 1930); it is a collection of monographs, many of which in themselves are quite valuable. Unfortunately, the work as a whole by its very nature does not allow the drawing of a comprehensive picture of Farel. A more thorough investigation of the subject might show that Farel's debate in Basel actually contributed to and helped to shape the liturgical reformation of the Church of Basel and its neighboring churches. Farel's debate came between the Second Zurich Dispute and Bucer's Grund und Ursach.

² It would be left to Farel's friend Pierre Toussaint to organize from 1535-1571 the Church of Montbéliard, which to this day remains a center of French Protestantism. Meyhoffer in his contribution to the collection Guillaume Farel goes so far as to claim that Farel published a first edition of what we have called the Neuchâtel Service Book of 1533 (p. 141). We do not find in the sources which he has mentioned sufficient evidence to accept this theory. J.J. von Allmen has shown, however, that Farel did in fact celebrate some form of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Montbéliard. *Le saint ministère selon la conviction et la volonté des Réformés du XVI^e siècle* (Neuchâtel, 1968), 208.

On the Lord's Day, which alone remains as a holiday so that all might be free to participate (servants and maids may not be required to work), they celebrate the Lord's Supper, and indeed by the following form. The table stands in an open place in the church, that it might be seen by all. They do not say altar, because it is not an altar except to those who make of the Lord's Supper a sacrifice; nevertheless it is not different from the usual altars. The minister approaches the table. He does not turn his back to the people as the custom had been observed by priests at sacrifices who acted as though they were making a kind of self display before God. Rather, facing the people he leads them in prayer. Sitting at the table, facing the people, the eyes of all being upon him, he begins with certain prayers drawn from Scripture and then a psalm is sung by all. This being completed, some prayers are said by the minister. He enters the pulpit, and first he reads the Scripture on which he proposes to preach in a way that all can understand.

Then he more fully explains the passage with the aid of other texts of Scripture having to do with the same subject so that the analogy of faith is served and nothing is added which is not helpful to faith and to the promoting of love. The sermon being finished, he returns to the table and the Creed is sung by all. Next he explains for the people in what way Christ left his Supper to us, briefly touching on the benefit of Christ's death and the pouring out of his blood on the cross; then he recites the words of Christ as they have been written by the Evangelists or the Apostle Paul. The Supper is distributed to those who wish to receive. (No one is constrained, although all are invited). Both bread and wine are used because Christ himself left them to his disciples to be true symbols of his body and blood and the memorial of his death. While the communion is being distributed, and while each one receives a portion, the Kyrie eleison is sung by all. This is a hymn giving thanks to God for our having received his benefits. Thus having given the communion the minister receives that which is left. . . .

And do not think the Word has been without fruit. The poor are so supported, that they are fed from community funds, and none are neglected, who are recognized as being truly indigent. This service is so conducted that the able-bodied are not allowed to remain idle. Nor is any allowed to seek gifts from house to house. Those who are truly poor have an insignia by which they can be distinguished which entitles them to be fed at community cost. For this purpose there are set aside in different churches, small chests in which the free contribution of each one is collected; the form is indeed seen to be of apostolic institution; . . . ¹

¹ A.L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les Pays de langue française* (Geneva, 1866), I, 412-413. (Hereinafter referred to as *Correspondance*).

"Dominico die, quem solum festum reliquerunt, adhuc autem ut liberum sit in eo operari (sed servi et ancillae ad opus cogi non possunt), celebrant coenam domini (cam), et hac quidem forma: Mensa prostat in patenti loco templi, ut ab omnibus conspici possit; altare non vocant, quod non nisi illis tale quiddam putetur qui ex Christi coena sacrificium fecerunt; tamen nihil distat a vulgatis altaribus. Ad mensam illam addedit minister, sic tamen ut

This letter shows that although the French refugees undoubtedly were at a loss to understand a worship service in German, someone had seen to it that the visitors understood what was going on. Certainly the Strasbourg Reformers were eager to explain to their French guests the principles of their preaching, their formulas of prayer, their ideals of psalmody¹, the restoration of the Lord's Day and their reasons for keeping one practice or discarding another. The antiquity of the various "ceremonies" was certainly often a subject of table conversation. It is hard to imagine that the Reformers of Strasbourg never asked the opinion of Jacques LeFèvre, the venerable translator of the French Bible and the publisher of the works of Ignatius of Antioch, Dionysius the Areopagite and John of Damascus, about the Biblical and patristic basis of their reforms. For the liturgical history of French-speaking Protestantism it probably has considerable importance that between 1523 and 1526 a number of French reform-minded refugees were living in Basel and Strasbourg.

faciem conversam ad plebem habeat et non posteriora, qui mos hactenus servatus fuit à sacerdotibus sacrificis, qui, veluti quandam Dei speciem prae se ferentes, sua populo posteriora conspicienda, non etiam faciem, operae precium ducebant. Assidens mensae, facie versa ad populum, in quem totius populi oculi concurrant, primum quasdam preces ex Scriptura depromptas promit, idque paucis; deinde psalmus quidam ab omnibus canitur; quo absoluto, et nonnullis adhuc precibus per ministrum fuis, conscendit cathedram, et primum legit Scripturam, cunctis intelligentibus, quam explicare vult. Deinde eandem fusius explicat, ascitis aliis Scripturae locis in hanc rem facientibus, sic tamen ut analogia fidei servetur, et nihil adferat quod non ad fidem et asseclam charitatem dirigatur. Absoluto sermone, ad mensam redit, canitur symbolum ab omnibus; quo peracto, patefacit plebi, in quem usum Christus suam nobis reliquerit coenam, paucis retegens beneficium mortis Christi et effusi in cruce sanguinis; deinde verba Christi recenset, uti scripta sunt ab evangelistis vel Paulo; deinde impartit iis qui accedere volunt (nam nemo cogitur, invitantur tamen omnes) panem et vinum, vera corporis et sanguinis Christi symbola, in suae mortis recordationem, a se relicta suis apostolis. Dum fit communicio et suam quisque coenae portionem accipit, canitur ab omnibus *kyrie eleeson*, hoc veluti hymno agentibus gratias pro accepto beneficio. Sic tamen communicio fit, ut postremus sumat minister, adeoque quod superfuerit.

... Et ne credas, sine fructu hactenus fuisse Verbum. Pauperes ita suscepti sint, ut ex aere communi alantur, et nullus negligatur qui agnitus fuerit indigens. Sic tamen negotium geritur, ut validis non liceat ociosis esse, nec ulli liceat per domos stipem quaerere; qui vere pauperes sunt a deoque alendi communibus sumptibus suum habent signum, quo internosci queant. In hunc usum designatae sunt per singula templa arculae, in quas suum quisque pro arbitrio congerat symbolum; facies quaedam videtur esse apostolicorum institutorum;

..."
¹ On Roussel's enthusiasm for the Strasbourg psalmody, see his letter to Briçonnet of December 1525, in Herminjard, *Correspondance*, 406-407.

3. The Missionary work of William Farel

In November of 1526, Farel left Strasbourg for what today we call French speaking Switzerland¹. There he began a ten-year missionary effort which would result in the winning of the greater part of the country to the Reformed faith. The undaunted evangelist had the protection of the Republic of Bern in his favor but little else. His convinced and enthusiastic preaching was a far greater asset. He was heckled, stoned, bruised and beaten, arrested and expelled from cities. He preached in courtyards, taverns, fish markets and cathedrals, and yet always with a sincerity and conviction that won not only the crowds but the leading citizens as well.

He began his mission in Aigle, a French-speaking town at the foot of the Alps in the upper valley of the Rhone. At the time the city belonged to the Republic of Bern. While he was there, Bucer, Capito, Zwingli and Oecolampadius kept in close correspondence with the "bishop of Aigle," and it was as the Reformer of Aigle that he attended the Dispute of Bern in 1528. While there he produced a liturgy in French which probably resembled other Reformed liturgies used in German-speaking churches. This liturgy was perhaps the first French Protestant liturgy. Unfortunately, it has been lost².

¹ The area which today we call "French-speaking Switzerland" or la Suisse romande was, of course, not known by any such designation at the time of the Reformation. At that time very little of this territory belonged to the Swiss Confederation. The political divisions of the area were both complicated and unstable. Among the more important claimants to power were the Duke of Savoy, the City of Bern, the counts of Neuchâtel and Gruyère, and the prince bishops of Lausanne, Geneva, and Basel. Cf., the map included in the collection Guillaume Farel, pp. 168-169 as well as the text on pp. 209-217; Henri Naef, *Les origines de la réforme à Genève* (Geneva and Paris, 1936), pp. 29-83, 95-106 and 359-372, and, Henri Vuilleumier, *Histoire de l'Eglise réformée du Pays de Vaud sous le régime bernois* (4 vols.; Lausanne, 1927-1933), I, 1-5 and 122-129. For a more precise study of the relations of this area to the Swiss Confederation Cf., Adolf Gasser, *Die territoriale Entwicklung der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, 1291-1797* (Aarau, 1932).

² Cf., Henri Vuilleumier, "La plus ancienne liturgie en usage dans les bailliages bernois du Pays de Vaud," *Revue de Lausanne* (1895), XXVIII, 495-498. It must be remembered that this article presents us not with the original text of the liturgy in question but rather the author's reconstruction of the text. His reconstruction is based on the assumption that Farel did nothing more than translate the text of the Bern Service Book of 1528. We are inclined to agree that the liturgy in question at least resembled the Bernese liturgy. It may, however, have had variations suggested by the liturgies of Ba-

Again in June of 1530, we find mention of Farel preparing a sort of service book for instructing the new pastors in the French-speaking towns of the Jura mountains in the manner in which they and their congregations were to celebrate the Lord's Supper and Baptism. A good number of these pastors had been the Catholic parish priests of the region, who had accepted the Reformation through the preaching of Farel but who were not quite sure what the liturgical implications of the Reformation were once the statues had been torn down and the celebration of mass had been discontinued. At Easter time 1530, we are told that Jehan Bosset, a young priest at la Neuveville, celebrated both the Roman Mass and the Evangelical Lord's Supper. A report has come down to us from a Roman Catholic eye-witness who tells us only that he preached the Word of God and broke the bread, that the faithful ate the bread, and finally that he himself took the cup full of wine and drank. While we recognize the "Evangelical simplicity" of the service, we are nevertheless surprised to observe that the young priest-pastor had evidently not yet learned about communion in both kinds¹.

4. The Neuchâtel Service Book of 1533²

It was probably for just such beginners as Jehan Bosset of la Neuveville that Farel directed the Neuchâtel Service Book of 1533³. It is difficult or Strasbourg, but we cannot be sure. Farel would probably never have dreamed of writing "his own liturgy," nor is the thought likely to have occurred to him that a French liturgy ought to differ from a German liturgy in anything other than language.

¹ Guillaume Farel, 195-197.

² It will be recognized that our interpretation of this document differs considerably from that of H. Vuilleumier, *Histoire de l'Eglise réformée du Pays de Vaud*, I, 309-319. It is unfortunate that such an excellent collection of material has been interpreted from the standpoint of such provincial concerns.

³ La maniere et fasson quon tient en baillant le saint baptesme en la sainte congregation de dieu: et en espousant ceulx qui viennent au saint Mariage, et a la sainte Cene de nostre seignr, es lieux lesqiz dieu de se grace a visite, faisant q. selon sa sainte parolle ce quil a defendu en son eglise soit reiecte, et ce quil a commande soit tenu. Aussi la maniere comment la predication commence, moyenne et finit, avec les prieres et exhortation

cult to compare the work to other liturgies because it seems to be more a directory of worship than a service book. One is never too clear whether one is reading the text of a prayer or whether one is reading directions on what should be in the text of the prayer. However, one must keep in mind that Farel expressly says that he wishes the liturgy which he is describing to conform to that of other churches in order that the unity and peace of the Church might be maintained¹. The liturgy to which the Neuchâtel liturgy has the most marked similarity is that of the Bern Service Book of 1529. To say that the similarity between the two documents is because Farel was "an agent of Bern," seems a bit perverse. This is especially apparent when one notices that certain parts of the liturgy are in accordance with the liturgies of Basel and Strasbourg rather than that of Bern. The formulation of the Prayer of Confession seems much more closely related to formulations we have found in Strasbourg. This is especially noticeable in the fact that the formula for Neuchâtel uses the first person plural rather than the first person singular as one finds in the Bernese formula. Unlike Bern, Farel does not use the Aaronic Benediction but rather dismisses the congregation in peace as was the custom in Basel. It would likewise be a mistake to overlook the rich theological insights which Farel has contributed to the work. The Biblical references which we find in the margin are not to be regarded as a mere collection of proof texts. Quite to the contrary we have often found them to be valuable hints to the exegetical groundwork which was behind the reformation of the liturgy in the sixteenth century. Above all, however, we should regard two beautiful liturgical formulations which show us something of the spiritual insight of Farel. First we call attention to what has often been called the "Reformed Sursum corda."

Therefore, lift up your hearts on high, seeking the heavenly things in heaven, where Jesus Christ is seated at the right hand of the Father; and do not fix your eyes on the visible signs which are corrupted through usage. In joy of heart, in brotherly union, come, everyone, to partake of our Lord's Table, giving thanks unto Him for the very great love which He has shown us. Have the death of this good Saviour graven on your

quon fait a tous et pour tous, et de la visitation des malades (Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle, 1533). For an English translation of the text, see Thompson, LWC, 216-224. The French text was edited by J.G. Baum La manier et fasson (Strasbourg, 1859).

¹ ". . . soy conformant aussi aux autres eglises . . . pour garder la paix et vnion avec tous . . .".

Ibid., 49.

hearts in eternal remembrance, so that you are set afire, so also that you incite others to love God and follow His holy Word¹.

And then the Words of Administration:

Jesus, the true Saviour of the world, who died for us and is seated at the right hand of the Father, dwell in your hearts through His Holy Spirit, that you be wholly alive in Him through living faith and perfect love².

Here we especially notice the importance given to the work of the Holy Spirit and the emphasis given to love as well as faith. The celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Neuchâtel Service Book of 1533 is shaped by the needs and methods of a great missionary and enriched by the faith of a man who wished only that he might burn as a living sacrifice to God. It is perhaps best understood as one more member of the family of Reformed liturgies which had developed in Strasbourg, Basel, Zurich, Constance and Bern. That is, it is the liturgy of the churches which sent Farel into the mission field. This, of course, is the pattern of liturgical development which one finds all through the history of the Church.

5. Evangelical worship in Geneva from its beginnings until 1538³

On May 21, 1536, ten years after Farel had begun his mission in Aigle, the Republic of Geneva officially voted that with God's help it would live from then on according to the Holy Gospel. Unlike the cities of Basel and Strasbourg which had reached a high level of Christian culture that had paved the way for

¹ Thompson, LWC, 223. One cannot help but wonder if this strange expression of the apathetic theology might have been learned from LeFèvre who, we remember, had translated both John of Damascus and Dionysius the Areopagite.

² Ibid.

³ Charles Borgeaud, "La conquête religieuse de Genève (1532-1536)," in the collection Guillaume Farel, 300. (Hereinafter referred to as "La conquête religieuse"). On the beginning of the Reformation in Geneva we have found the following works most helpful: Henri Naef, "L'Émancipation politique et la Réforme," Histoire de Genève, ed. by La société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève (2 vols.; Geneva, 1951). Henri Naef, Les origines de la réforme à Genève, (2 vols.; Geneva and Paris, 1968).

the Reformation, Geneva was not at all prepared for the moral, educational and liturgical demands implied by this resolve. Although François Lambert d'Avignon had probably preached in Geneva as early as 1522, it can almost be said that it was without the aid of clergy that Geneva had become sufficiently Protestant by 1529 to alarm both the pope and the emperor. In 1531, Farel was able to announce to Zwingli that Geneva was ready to receive the Gospel¹, and yet it was not until early in 1533 that Antoine Froment held what is regarded as the first Evangelical service of worship in the Place du Molard². At Easter in the same year, Guérin Muête celebrated the Lord's Supper according to the directions of Farel in the courtyard of a private home³. During Lent of 1534, the Protestants were finally allowed to use a large hall in the Franciscan Friary, but this was only due to the pressure of the ambassadors of Bern. At Easter, Farel celebrated the Lord's Supper in the same hall with four hundred communicants. More than a year later, Farel was carried by an enthusiastic crowd into the cathedral to have him preach from its pulpit⁴. The bishop of Geneva, Pierre de la Baume, had fled the city as early as 1527. As one can imagine, such conditions as these did not encourage the development of harmonious intonations and choral responses. We cannot be too sure how the services were conducted at the beginning of the Genevan Reformation, but the Neuchâtel Service Book of 1533 is, in all probability, our best guide⁵. Nevertheless, we are sure that the creative spirit and inexhaustible ability to improvise which are such natural gifts of the French spirit, came into play more often than not. Things would change. A few weeks after Geneva had officially accepted the Reformation, John Calvin entered the city intending to spend only the night.

¹ C. Borgeaud, "La conquête religieuse", p. 300.

² Ibid., 306.

³ Ibid., 308, 319.

⁴ Ibid., 326.

⁵ In the city library of Neuchâtel is to be found a Genevan edition of the Neuchâtel Service Book: *Ordre et maniere qu'on tient en administrant les saintz sacremens: asavoir, le Baptisme, et la Cene de nostre Seigneur. Item, en la Celebration du mariage, et en la Visitation des malades. Avec la forme qu'on observe es predications, principalement quant aux exhortations et prieres qu'on y faict. Es lieux lesquelz Dieu de sa grace a visite, faisant que selon sa sainte parolle ce quil a deffendu en son Eglise soit reiette: et ce quil a commande, soit tenu* (Geneva: Jehan Michel, 1538).

With the publication of the Articles concernant l'organisation de l'église et du culte a Genève, proposés au conseil par les ministres, le 16. Janvier 1537, we find the first attempt to establish a more ordered liturgy which would express the logic and appreciation for form which is just as typically French. The implication of the opening lines is clear:

Most honorable gentlemen, it is certain that a church cannot be regarded as well organized unless the holy Supper of our Lord is frequently celebrated and attended. And this should be with such good order that no one be allowed to act out of pride and that no one present himself other than in all holiness and reverence¹.

Street-corner preaching services and improvised celebrations of the Lord's Supper, as honored as they may have been by the New Testament, and as helpful as they might have proven in the Reformation of Geneva, had outlived their usefulness. The time for order and discipline had come. The Reformers present four resolves which interest us. First, they are concerned that the Lord's Supper regain its rightful place in the weekly celebration of the Lord's Day, "For Christ did not institute his Supper to be celebrated merely two or three times a year"². The pastors recognize that as yet the faith of the majority of the people is still too weak to sustain the celebration of the Lord's Supper every Sunday, therefore it is recommended that it be celebrated in each parish at least once a month; however, in such a manner that it be celebrated in at least one parish each week³. In insisting on regular communion as opposed to the practice of the Middle Ages in which normally the laymen received communion only at Easter and perhaps at Christmas, the Reformers did not intend to see the Lord's Supper degraded by offering it to those who were not prepared. It was, therefore, that in accordance with the practice of the New Testament (Matthew 18:15-18) a demanding Church discipline was to be introduced. This we are assured had been the practice of the ancient Church for many centuries⁴.

¹ Joannis Calvini opera selecta, ed. by P. Barth and W. Niesel (5 vols., Munich, 1926-1952), I, 369. (Hereinafter referred to as OS.)

² "Et de faict elle naz pas este instituee de Jesus pour en fere commemoration deux ou troys foyz lan mays pour vng frequent exercice de nostre foy et charite." (OS, I, 370).

³ OS, I, 271.

⁴ "Ceste usance et pratique a dure anciennement quelque temps en les-glise avecq singuliere vtilite et aduancement de la crestiente, . . ." (OS, I, 372.)

Thirdly, we notice that the Genevan Reformers wanted to introduce something to take the place of the catechumenate of the ancient Church¹. Fourthly, the Genevan Reformers were concerned with the development of psalmody. This, too, we are told had been the practice of the ancient Church as well as the exhortation of the Apostle Paul². The Reformers did make some progress in education in the next two years. We have not as yet been able to learn just what success they may have had in regard to psalmody but the request for regular communion was denied and it would be over the question of church discipline that the Reformers would be expelled from the city a little more than a year later. It is interesting to note two things. First, that the desire to institute the singing of psalms, the concern for Christian education and church discipline and the program for a more frequent celebration of Holy Communion show that already the Reformers of Geneva desire to pattern their worship more closely on the examples of Basel and Strasbourg. Secondly, we find the Genevan Reformers as early as 1537 were already appealing to Scripture and quoting the example of the ancient Church.

¹ This question is, of course, beyond the range of our subject, but we have come across a number of passages in the earlier works of the Reformers that indicate that they knew a considerable amount about the catechumenate of the ancient Church and that certainly one of the roots of their concern to produce "catechisms" was the example of the catechumenate of the ancient Church.

² "Laultre part est des pseaulmes, que nous desirons estre chantes en lesglise comme nous en auons lexample en lesglise ancienne et mesme le tesmoinage de S. Paul, . . ." (OS, I, 375).

G. LITURGICAL REVISION IN STRASBOURG 1537-1539

Beginning in 1537 two psalters were produced, the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 (J)¹ and the Strasbourg Psalter of 1539 (K)². These psalters introduced important changes into the liturgy which had remained virtually unchanged for more than ten years. We might list the changes as follows:

(1) In the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 (J) we find a most remarkable growth of psalms and hymns. We notice for the first time that the portion of "spiritual songs," that is hymns not drawn from the Scripture, shows that the use of such hymns has finally been accepted by the Church of Strasbourg. A considerable number of these are hymns for the celebration of the "evangelical holidays": Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost.

(2) Additional formulations of the Prayer of Confession, the Assurance of Pardon, and the Prayer of Intercession have been added.

(3) The *lectio continua* is even more strongly emphasized than in previous psalters.

(4) The exhortation to self-oblation and to the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving has been completely removed so that here is no longer any trace of the Offertory.

(5) The Communion Admonition seems to have lost most of its importance and is beginning to be absorbed into the sermon, or at least that would seem to be the tendency.

(6) There is a more highly developed Post-communion Thanksgiving.

¹ Psalmen und geystliche Lieder, die man zu Strassburg, und auch die man inn anderen Kirchen pflegt zu singen. Form und gebett zum eynsegn der Ee, den heiligen Tauff, Abentmal, besuchung der Krancken, und begrebnüss der abgestorbnen. Alles gemert und gebessert. Auch mit seinem Register. (Strasbourg: Hans Preüssen, 1537). For further bibliographical information see Hubert, *liturgischen Ordnungen*, pp. xxii-xxvii.

² Psalter mit aller Kirchenübung die man bey der Christlichen Gemein zuo Strassburg und anders wa pflägt zuo siingen. Mit seinem ordentlichen Register (Strasbourg: Wolf Köphl, 1539).

(7) Christmas, Good Friday and Ascension have been added to the calendar.

(8) The text has been altered in several places in an attempt to make more precise the formulation of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Before we present what seem to us to be the reasons for these changes, we would like to mention two things which we believe have had little influence on the liturgical forms themselves although they were of the greatest importance in other aspects of the growth of the Church of Strasbourg. The first of these was the controversy with the "Radical Reformation"¹. Most of the famous sectarians had spent at least some time in Strasbourg. Michael Servetus², Melchior Hoffman³, Kaspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig⁴, Sebastian Franck⁵, Jakob Zeigler⁶, Otto Brunfels⁷ and countless others more or less well known, all tried to make their influence felt on the Church of Strasbourg⁸. It seems to us, however, that

¹ On this aspect of Strasbourg church history, cf., Wendel, *L'église de Strasbourg*; G.H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (London, 1962), 241-298.

² Cf., R.H. Bainton in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV, 506-507.

³ Cf., Christian Neff in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, II, 778-785.

⁴ Cf., Gottfried March, *Individualismus und Gemeinschaft bei Caspar von Schwenckfeld* (Stuttgart, 1961). Also see the article by William Klassen in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV, 1120-1124. On Schwenckfeld in Strasbourg, cf., G.H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 255-259.

⁵ G.H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 264-267.

⁶ Jakob Ziegler, as many other humanists, showed at the beginning of the Reformation interest in Protestantism. Eventually he returned to the Roman Catholic Church. Cf., *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (3rd ed., Tübingen, 1957-), VI, 1907-1908. (Hereinafter referred to as RGG).

⁷ On Brunfels, cf., Christian Neff, *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, I, 452.

⁸ It is extremely difficult to describe these "sectarians" because for the most part they were extreme individualists. Nevertheless, we might list three general characteristics shared by most of them. First, almost all of them were opposed to infant baptism. This was as much true of the Anti-Trinitarian, Michael Servetus, as it was of the apocalyptic Anabaptist preacher Melchior Hoffmann. For those who had been deeply influenced by the individualism of the Renaissance, only "believers' baptism" made sense. The insistence of the Reformed Church on infant baptism is one of the clearest evidences that it had no wish to be the "faith of the Renaissance." Second was an emphasis upon the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Kaspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig, the Selesian nobleman who spent some time as house guest of both Capito and Zell, was perhaps the most prominent among these "spiritualists" or "illuminists." His understanding of the Holy Spirit left little room for the ministry, the sacra-

it was precisely because of the general disregard for "outward forms" which most of these people shared, that it would be only natural that they would contribute little to the development of these forms¹. In fact, this is what our study

ments or preaching. Yet, his personal charm and learning gave his opinions particular appeal and demanded of the Strasbourg pastors a more careful consideration of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit than might otherwise have developed. In response to the illuminism of this aristocratic lay-theologian, the Strasbourg pastors developed very clear ideas about the authority of the ministry and the importance of the sacraments. Sebastian Franck was a spiritualist who went so far as to oppose any sort of ministry, sacrament, audible prayer, preaching or any other "external form." A third feature which was generally true of this group might be called "libertinism" or "individualism." Jakob Ziegler, the humanist-scholar and friend of Erasmus; Otto Brunfels, often called the father of modern botany and the rector of one of Strasbourg's Latin schools; Antoin Engelbrecht, the pastor of St. Stephen's Church; as well as Servetus and Schwenckfeld were equally opposed to all attempts at formulating a common faith that might put in question the authority of the individual in matters of faith. In reaction to these champions of individualism the early Reformed Church insisted upon the importance of the Church as a community which held its faith in fellowship with the brethren. This led to a growing awareness of faith as common faith and of worship as common worship. It brought a deeper awareness of the Lord's Supper as an expression of the unity of the Church, and of the need for church discipline to preserve the purity and unity of the body of Christ.

¹ On the other hand, it was largely as a result of these controversies that we find the Strasbourg pastors calling for a stricter adherence to the official liturgical forms. It would seem that among the pastors of Strasbourg were some such as Sapidus, the former director of the Sélestat Latin School, and Antoine Engelbrecht, pastor of St. Stephen's (St. -Etienne), who were not too content to follow the forms used by the other pastors. Then there were pastors who voiced certain concerns about the liturgy although they were willing to accept the majority opinion. F. Wendel lists several examples of these concerns. Diebold Schwarz had been advocating the discontinuance of godparents. Capito and Bucer wanted to arrive at a uniform decision on the regularity of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. F. Wendel wished to emphasize the importance of reminding the faithful of their responsibilities to the poor. Hedio was concerned that the reciting of the Words of Institution not be limited to the Pauline version but that the versions of the Synoptic Gospels be used as well. The prevailing opinion at Strasbourg, an opinion which the Reformed Church has often reaffirmed, is that liturgical reform is not to be left to the illumination of individual pastors but rather is a concern of the Church as a whole. From the time of the establishing of the synod of 1533 decisions on liturgical questions were decided by the synod. (F. Wendel, *L'église de Strasbourg*, 72-79).

The fixing or formulation of the liturgy and the insistence that these forms be observed has through the whole history of the liturgy been one of the Church's first defenses against illuminism or enthusiast tendencies. The tendency to reject all "outward forms" and especially the Eucharist, which by its very nature struck at the heart of individualism, was a characteristic of many of the "sectarians" such as Schwenckfeld and Franck. The influence of these men undoubtedly made it more difficult for the Reformers to achieve their goal of the regular communion of the whole Christian community.

of the liturgical revision of 1537-1539 has shown. The revisions we have listed are not to be explained by the Church of Strasbourg's struggle with the Anabaptists, Spiritualists and Unitarians.

The second of these things is the improved relations between Strasbourg and Wittenberg. We do not think that the changes which took place are to be explained by this undeniably laudable movement toward Protestant unity¹. None

The doctrine of the ministry had, of course, from the very beginning of the Strasbourg reform been safeguarded in the liturgy. As the threat of the Anabaptists and Spiritualists grew, such liturgical expressions of the Reformed doctrine of the ministry as the Absolution after the Prayer of Confession and the Benediction were insisted upon. The Prayer for Illumination as well as the petition for pastors in the Prayer of Intercession well served to show the belief of the Strasbourg Church that the Holy Spirit can be expected to work through the ordinary ministry of the Church. However, we would want to stress that all these forms are to be found already in the earliest Evangelical liturgies of Strasbourg. These forms do not owe their existence to an attempt to combat the "sectarians" on the liturgical plane, as it were. There is one place in the text of the liturgy where the controversy with the "Radical Reformation" has come to a clear expression and that is in the new Communion Exhortation. Here the faithful are assured that God works through the ministry: ". . . the Lord truly offers and gives His holy and sanctifying body and blood to us in the Holy Supper, with the visible things of bread and wine, through the ministry of the Church, as His holy Word declares: 'Take and eat, this is my body which is given for you; Drink ye all of it, this is my blood which is shed for you for the forgiveness of sin.' And we must accept this Word of the Lord with simple faith, and doubt not that He, the Lord Himself, is in the midst of us through the external ministry of the Church which He Himself has ordained for that purpose." (Thompson, LWC, 171). The position is quite clearly opposed to both the illuminism of a Schwenckfeld and Hoffman's total rejection of the Church as well as to the Renaissance individualism of a Servetus, as indeed it is meant to be.

¹ Bucer's attempt at finding a concord between Zurich and Wittenberg had achieved an initial success the year before by the signing of the Wittenberg Concord. The South German Reformers presented Luther with the text of the Second Basel Confession, or as it is often called, the First Helvetic Confession, and assured him that they did not believe in empty signs. Bucer of Strasbourg, Zwick of Constance, Myconius of Basel, and Musculus and Wolfhart of Augsburg had celebrated communion with Luther and Melanchthon at the Castle Church in Wittenberg. On Monday they signed the Wittenberg Concord which had been drawn up by Melanchthon. (Cf., Eells, Martin Bucer, 201).

There are three main passages which might be pointed to in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 and the Strasbourg Psalter of 1539 as being reflections of this rapprochement with Lutheranism. First of all, there is the text of the Communion Admonition. We give the full text, underlining those passages which might be regarded as most clearly designed to win the favor of the North German Reformers:

The first: that, since the Lord now wishes to communicate his body and blood to us, we should reflect upon the fact that our body and blood - which means, our whole nature - are corrupted to all evil and thus to eternal death, so that they of themselves may nevermore share in the Kingdom of God. I Cor. XV.

of those things which had been the unanimous practice of the Reformed Churches has been changed for the usage of Wittenberg. A table continues to replace the

The Second: that to deliver us from such corruption, the eternal Word of God became flesh, so that there might be a holy flesh and blood: this is to say, a truly divine man, through whom the flesh and blood of us all would be restored and sanctified. And this happens as we truly eat and drink of His body and blood.

The third: that the Lord truly offers and gives His holy and sanctifying body and blood to us in the Holy Supper, with the visible things of bread and wine, through the ministry of the Church, as His holy Word declares: "Take and eat, this is my body which is given for you; Drink ye all of it, this is my blood which is shed for you for the forgiveness of sin." And we must accept this Word of the Lord with simple faith, and doubt not that He, the Lord Himself, is in the midst of us through the external ministry of the Church which He Himself has ordained for that purpose. Such does he proclaim to us with His own words: that the bread which we break may truly be, even for us, the communion of His body, and the cup with which we give thanks, the communion of His blood. I Cor. X. But we must always diligently consider why the Lord thus imparts to us His holy, sanctifying communion in the holy sacrament: namely, that He may ever more live in us, and that we may be one body in Him our Head, even as we all partake here of one bread.

The fourth: that in this action, we keep the Lord's memorial and feast with true devotion and thankfulness, so that we always laud and praise Him in all our words and deeds, yea, with our whole life, for all His benefits: for his Incarnation and bitter death whereby He has paid for our sin; for this blessed communion of His body and blood; that is, for Himself entire, who is true God and man, through whom alone we obtain the true and blessed life and live both here and in eternity. (Thompson, LWC, 171-172).

Next we find that in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 the Words of Administration have been amplified; we underline the added phrase.

Remember, believe, and proclaim that Christ, the Lord, died for you and gives Himself to you as food and drink unto eternal life. (Hubert, liturgischen Ordnungen, 11-112, N.B. variations in the critical apparatus).

Finally, the phrasing of the Communion Invocation has been changed from the version of the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526:

. . . so that we verily receive and enjoy the true communion of His body and blood, of our Savior Himself, who is the only saving bread of heaven. In this holy sacrament, He wishes to offer and give Himself so that He may live in us, and we in Him, being members of His body . . . (Thompson, LWC, 173).

to the following version found for the first time in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 which would appear to emphasize the agreement of Strasbourg and Wittenberg:

altar. The Strasbourg pastors continue to wear only the black preaching gown, without either surplice or stole. None of the songs of the mass such as the Kyrie eleison, the Sanctus, or the Agnus Dei, which had been retained in Wittenberg, find their way back into the liturgy of Strasbourg. There is no change on such questions as images and candles¹.

And since, for our sake, He hath not only sacrificed to thee His own body and blood upon the Cross for our sin, but also wishes to give them to us for food and drink unto eternal life, grant that we may now accept with entire longing and devotion His goodness and gift, and with right faith receive and enjoy His true body and blood, yea, Himself our Savior, true God and man, the only true bread of heaven: That we may live no more our sinful and depraved life, but that He in us and we in Him may live His holy, blessed and eternal life, . . . (Thompson, LWC, 176).

Certainly one could easily suggest that these changes of text indicate an increasing friendship for Luther and an appreciation for the need of maintaining the unity of Protestantism.

We are, of course, very glad that the Strasbourg Reformers were so early inclined toward irenical statements. We would not want in the least to underestimate the attempt to maintain fellowship with the Lutherans. However, one must take account of the fact that there is not a thing in these phrases which an ecumenically-minded Zwinglian could not accept. In fact, the crucial phrases are taken not from the Wittenberg Concord, but from the Second Basel Confession of February 4, 1536. We give the translation of H. Eells; by the underlining we have indicated the phrases common to the Strasbourg psalters:

Truly the Supper is a mystery, in which the Lord offers his body and blood, that is, his own self truly to his disciples for this purpose, that more and more he may live in them and they in him. Not that the body and blood of the Lord are united either naturally with the bread and wine, or are included locally in them, or are offered by any carnal presence, but that the bread and wine are symbols by the institution of the Lord, in which the true bestowal of his body and blood is presented by the Lord himself, through the ministry of the church, not as food to be destroyed in the stomach, but as nourishment to eternal life. (Eells, Martin Bucer, 195).

Once again we find to be true what the Strasbourg pastors wrote to Luther in the fall of 1524, that the Church of Strasbourg intended to carry out its liturgical reforms in fellowship with its neighboring churches of South Germany, Alsace and Switzerland. (Cf., D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe, Briefwechsel (3. Band; Weimar, 1933), 385, lines 159-161).

¹ The strong objection of Reformed churches to the liturgical use of candles is quite easy to understand from a passage of Lactantius, a favorite author of the Christian Humanists, in which the early fourth century Father ridicules the heathens' use of "light offerings." God does not dwell in darkness, He is rather the Author of Light. No man in his senses would offer a candle to the Eternal Brightness. Cf., Lactantius The Divine Institutes VI, 2.

Now the question is, what has brought about these changes: First we suggest that some of the more important changes represent the gains of experience and the natural growth of insight which the Church of Strasbourg had acquired in more than a decade of liturgical reform, in its continued exegesis of the Scriptures, its continued reading of the literature of the ancient Church, and in its deepening spiritual and pastoral experience. It is above all from this cause that we would explain the growth of hymnody and psalmody, the emphasis on the *lectio continua*, and the addition of alternate formulations of the prayers. The faithful had begun to understand the liturgical changes well enough now so that the Communion Admonition was no longer as necessary as it had been in the beginning. There is, we believe, an even more important reason for these revisions. It seems to us that the liturgical revisions of 1537-1539 are above all the result of the frequent conversations between the Church of Strasbourg and its neighboring churches in South Germany, Alsace and Switzerland. We have already spoken in detail of the manner in which the churches of Strasbourg, Zurich, Basel, Constance and others had worked together in shaping the reform of the churches of Augsburg, Bern, Ulm and Memmingen. It was an important feature of these churches that they tried to work together. The Strasbourg Synod of 1533, for example, seated a fraternal delegate, Paul Phrygio from Basel¹. Especially Bucer and Capito were constantly traveling from Strasbourg to Augsburg, Constance, Ulm, Basel, Zurich, as well as the less known churches such as Biel, Mulhouse, and Lindau to confer with other pastors. This discussion of over a decade had given many opportunities to compare the various insights of different cities on liturgical reform².

In looking again at the revisions of the liturgy found in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537, many of the changes seem to be the adoption of the forms of other South German or Swiss churches.

(1) The growth of hymnody and psalmody is, of course, to a large extent due to the labors of Strasbourg poets and musicians. There are many of Luther's hymns, as had always been the case in the Strasbourg psalters. Especially

¹ F. Wendel, *L'église de Strasbourg*, 69.

² According to Wendel, it was while drawing up the constitution of the Church of Ulm in 1531 that Oecolampadius finally won Bucer to his position on the question of church discipline. (*Ibid.*, 49-50).

interesting at this point, however, is the large number of works from the Reformers of Constance: Johannes Zwick and the brothers Ambrosius and Thomas Blarer. They are largely responsible for the hymns for Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. With the borrowed hymns we recognize the Church of Strasbourg's concern for communion with its sister churches.

(2) The growth of the Prayer of Intercession to include petitions for a greater variety of subjects may show the influence of either Augsburg or Ulm. We shall speak of this at more length in Chapter IV.

(3) The renewed emphasis on the *lectio continua* probably represents a deepening awareness of both the antiquity and the utility of this system, not only by Strasbourg but by the whole South German Reformation. Its adoption by the earliest Reformed Churches seems to have been universal.

(4) Strasbourg alone among the early Reformed Churches had even a trace of an Offertory. By deleting this part of the service, Strasbourg is clearly accepting the lead of its neighboring churches.

(5) As we shall say in Chapter V, the Post-communion Thanksgiving is originally a feature of the Zurich liturgy but because of its strong grounding in both patristic and Biblical literature it seems to have been widely adopted in one church after another. By the time it is received into the Strasbourg Psalter it is already a widely accepted practice in South Germany.

(6) In regard to the Church calendar, here again we feel that while the influence of Wittenberg ought not to be totally discounted it is the influence of Constance which is determinant. As early as 1533 Hedio had urged the adoption of Christmas, Good Friday and Ascension but Bucer was not yet convinced¹. That the question was debated both in Bern and Ulm seems to be indicated by the fact both these churches adopt a hesitating position on the question.

We would conclude then, that the liturgical changes of 1537-1539 are not primarily to be understood as a defense against the "sectarians." Nor is it the case that friendlier relations with the Lutherans are primarily responsible for these changes. The liturgical revision found in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 and the Strasbourg Psalter of 1539 is primarily due to the deepening of experience by the churches of Upper Germany, Switzerland and Alsace. It is the fruit of the cross-pollination about which we have already spoken.

¹ Ibid., 79.

H. THE LITURGY OF THE FRENCH CHURCH AT STRASBOURG¹

We have already spoken of the importance of those reform-minded subjects of the Kingdom of France, who having been exiled from their native land, had found refuge in Strasbourg. Doumergue estimates that at one time the *ecclesia gallicana* had been a community of perhaps five-hundred persons². When Calvin arrived in 1538, Jean Sturm, a member of the Collège de France, was the leading member of the French community. He had recently arrived from Paris to organize and direct an academy. Jacques LeFèvre and Gérard Roussel had returned to France some time before. Calvin had been invited to Strasbourg to be the pastor of this growing community of French exiles. Until his arrival preaching services had been held, but no French church had been organized and therefore Holy Communion had not yet been celebrated. On September 8, 1538, Calvin began preaching at the Church of St. Nicholas. About two months later the church was organized and the Lord's Supper celebrated. The congregation finally settled in the choir of the former Dominican church.

Within less than a year after Calvin had been installed as pastor of the French refugee community, a small hymn book, a collection of metrical psalms, was printed which is commonly regarded as the source of French Protestant hymnody³. This work, *Alcuns pseumes et cantiques mys en chant*,

¹ Among numerous attempts to treat the subject of the origin of the "Calvinist" liturgy we mention only the following: Emile Doumergue, *Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps* (7 vols.; Lausanne, 1899-1917 and Neuilly, 1926-1927), II, 478-524; (hereinafter referred to as Jean Calvin).

A. Erichson, *Die calvinische und die altstrassburgische Gottesdienstordnung* (Strasbourg, 1894).

Maxwell, *Genevan Service Book*, 20-24.

Dora Scheuner, "Calvins Genfer Liturgie und seine Strasburger Liturgie textgeschichtlich dargestellt," *Festschrift für D. Albert Schädelin* (Bern, 1950), 79-85.

Thompson, *LWC*, 185-195.

van de Poll, *Martin Bucer's Liturgical Ideas*, 111-115.

Robert Will, "La première liturgie de Calvin," *Revue d'histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, XVIII, (1938).

² Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, 357-358. His estimate is for a few years after this time.

³ Doumergue speaks of attempts at Protestant hymnody in Neuchâtel as early as 1533. (Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, 506, note 2).

which, we will call the French Evangelical Psalm Book of 1539, appeared in Strasbourg in the Spring of the year¹. It is made up of thirteen psalms put in meter by the most able of the sixteenth-century French lyric poets, Clément Marot². Among Marot's translations we find the following psalms: 1, 2, 3, 15, 19, 32, 51, 103, 104, 114, 130, 137, 143. Calvin added to this five metrical psalms of his own, 25, 36, 46, 91 and 138, along with an unrhymed version of Psalm 113. The collection is completed by a metrical version of the Ten Commandments having as refrain the Kyrie eleison. It is undoubtedly modeled on Luther's version³. We also find the Song of Simeon and the Apostles' Creed. The songs produced by Calvin were obviously produced for liturgical reasons. We would suggest that the Song of Simeon, Psalm 113 and Psalm 138 were intended for the Communion and Post-communion Thanksgiving. Psalm 25 and the Ten Commandments were probably meant to be sung after the Prayer of Confession. Calvin replaced his versions with those of Marot as soon as the poet could produce them. Within a short time this psalm book was put to use not only in Strasbourg but also in the churches of Montbéliard, Metz and Neuchâtel.

At this point we wish to draw attention to the appropriateness of the psalms of Marot for the psalter of French-speaking Protestantism. The psalms of Marot are a true expression of French Protestantism. They were inspired by the Biblical renaissance of Jacques LeFèvre d'Étaples and the revival of Old Testament studies under the French Hebrew scholar François Vatable. Lenselink is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the actual literary form of the psalms, that is a translation of a psalm in such a way that it could be sung, was probably suggested by the liturgical practice of the Church of Strasbourg which had so favorably impressed LeFèvre and Roussel⁴. Marot's inter-

¹ According to Douen, in June, 1539 Pierre Toussaint, the pastor of Montbéliard, had written to Calvin asking that he be sent a copy of his psalm-book. O. Douen, *Le psautier huguenot* (2 vols.; Paris, 1878 and 1879), I, 300-301.

² It is not clear how Calvin came into possession of Marot's psalms almost three years before they had been officially published. For the most recent presentation of the problem see S.J. Lenselink, *Les psaumes de Clément Marot* (Basel, 1969), 23-24.

³ Wackernagel, *deutsche Kirchenlied*, Nr. 190.

⁴ Lenselink, *Les psaumes de Clément Marot*, 29-30.

pretations of the psalms are based on the commentary of Bucer, a book that was very popular in France at the time. He also used the translation of the Bible by Olivétan, and perhaps had followed the lectures of Vatable¹. By the Sorbonne the psalms were regarded suspiciously as Protestant translations of the Bible designed to make people familiar with the text of the Scripture, a purpose which the Parisian theologians considered dangerously heretical. Marot's psalms like the mystical *Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse* of Marguerite Queen of Navarre have a lyrical evangelical piety typical of French Protestantism. Indeed, the sensitive "Princess of the French Reformation" was a patroness of Clément Marot. Successive attempts have been made to shake Marot loose from the Reformation, and especially from Calvin, but the attempt has not succeeded. The fact is that Marot was welcomed in Geneva by Calvin. The Reformer tried to get a pension for him, but the city council denied the Reformer's request. Calvin, recognizing the theological conscientiousness as well as the poetic gift of Marot, left him at liberty to do the work of which he was a master². After he left Geneva, which he probably did more for financial reasons than anything else, the memory of his contribution to Reformed worship was still held in honor by Theodore Beza³.

¹ Cf., *Ibid.*, 32-56.

² "Pour avoir lui-même essayé de mettre des psaumes en vers français en vue d'en faire des cantiques propres à figurer au culte public, Calvin a pu se rendre compte qu'il ne suffisait pas d'être théologien ni d'être un bon prosateur, Mais qu'il fallait avoir un très réel don poétique. Qui dit création poétique dit aussi liberté poétique. -- Tout semble montrer que Calvin a cru trouver en Marot le poète inspiré, qu'il y a encouragé -- peut-être dirigé --- mais en lui laissant toute la liberté désirable dans l'exercice de son art. Si Marot a subi une contrainte, c'était celle qu'il s'était lui-même imposée dès le début: s'assujettir à la plus grande fidélité possible dans sa transposition du texte de L'Ecriture Sainte en puisant aux sources les plus sûrs et en recourant aux commentateurs le plus avisés." (*Ibid.*, p. 56).

³ A number of false stories have been circulated by those who are offended at the idea that such a good poet might have been a friend of Calvin. It is claimed that he was cited before the consistory for being involved with a woman. This is not the case. It is claimed that he accused Calvin of introducing a new papacy into Geneva. This story is also without foundation. It has also been claimed that he renounced Protestantism before his death. No document has yet been produced to support this theory. One thing is certain, whatever bad habits or theological uncertainties he may have had, they had not been serious enough to compromise the use of his works as prayers of the Church, a subject on which the Reformers were most sensitive. Whatever disagreements we may have with the interpretation which C.A. Mayer eventually gives to the religious life of Marot, we are indeed grateful that he has cleared up a number of false stories about Marot. Cf., C.A. Mayer, *La religion de Marot* (Geneva, 1960).

A year after the publication of the French Evangelical Psalm Book of 1539, the French Church of Strasbourg published a full liturgy for the Lord's Supper, which we will call the French Evangelical Psalter of 1540. Unfortunately, this has not come down to us. To get a picture of the liturgy of Strasbourg we can study two documents: the French Evangelical Psalter of 1542,¹ the so-called "Pseudo-Romana," and the French Evangelical Psalter of 1545,² which represents the liturgy of the French Church three years after Calvin had returned to Geneva.

The liturgy of the French Church of Strasbourg can perhaps best be understood as a combination of elements from various sources. We would list five sources for this worship. First we have the metrical psalms of Marot about which we have just spoken. Second, we have the formulations of prayer used by the German-speaking church of Strasbourg, the Prayer of Confession, the Communion Invocation, and the Post-communion Thanksgiving. Third, we have certain elements which have come from the Neuchâtel Service Book of 1533. This service book of La Suisse romande had, of course, much in common with the Strasbourg psalters long before Calvin brought it to Strasbourg. Nevertheless, two characteristic features of the Neuchâtel Service Book of 1533 have clearly been taken over by the French Church of Strasbourg. The one is the Invocation which has become so traditional in the Reformed Church: "Our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth," and the other is the Communion Exhortation with its Dismissal of the Unrepentant and Invitation of the Faithful. Clearly these are legacies from the

¹ La maniere de faire prieres aux eglises Francoyses tant devant la predication comme apres, ensemble pseaulmes et canticques francoys quon chante aus dictes eglises, apres sensuyt lordre et facon d'administrer les Sacrementz de Baptesme, et de la sainte Cene de nostre Seigneur Jesu Christ de espouser et confirmer le mariage deuant lassemblee des fideles avecques le sermon tant du baptesme que de la cene. Le tout selon la parolle de notre seigneur. (Rome: Theodore Brüss, 1542).

² La forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques. Avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacremens, et consacrer le Mariage; selon la coustume de L'eglise ancienne. (Strasbourg, 1545). For a modern edition of the text see John Calvin, *Opera selecta*, ed. by Petrus Barth and Guilelmus Niesel (2nd. ed., Munich, 1926-1962), II, 11-58. (Hereinafter referred to as OS.) For an English translation see Thompson, LWC, 197-208.

Neuchatel Service Book of 1533¹. Fourth, Calvin made a personal contribution to the liturgy in the psalmody; most of these texts he withdrew in later years, however. Fifth, we find a most important innovation. The Communion Invocation which in the German-speaking Church of Strasbourg had been joined to the Prayer of Intercession, the whole of which had been said as the Eucharistic Prayer, has, in the French-speaking church, been separated from the Prayer of Intercession. The Prayer of Intercession is said after the sermon and the Communion Invocation is said at the Lord's Table before the sharing of the bread and the wine. We find it hard to imagine that the importance of this innovation was not realized by Calvin as well as the Strasbourg pastors. The Church of Strasbourg was specially concerned at this time to guard its liturgical unity and such an important innovation would not have been allowed without weighty reason. Certainly, by this time, Bucer as well as his colleagues must have realized that the order of worship established by this innovation of the French Church, brings the liturgy of the French Church of Strasbourg more nearly in line with the practice of the ancient Church than that of the German-speaking Church. Why the usage was not adopted by the German-speaking Church in Strasbourg we are not sure. We shall speak of the matter again, but for the present we wish to stress the importance of it and to suggest that it quite probably represents a conscious theological reflection on the part of Calvin and the German-speaking Strasbourg pastors.

From this we hope it is evident that it would be quite incorrect to call the liturgy of the French Church at Strasbourg a mere translation of the Strasbourg Psalter of 1539.

¹ W.D. Maxwell would like to convince us that Farel had no influence on the liturgical tradition of either the Church of Geneva or the Church of Scotland. A simple study of the texts shows that he has made an unfortunate error. Cf., Maxwell, Genevan Service Book, 68.

I. THE GENEVAN PSALTER OF 1542

In the Fall of 1541, Calvin was recalled to Geneva. He came back to the city which had exiled him with the expectation that he would be able to implement the three liturgical reforms which he and Farel had demanded in 1537. These three reforms included the introduction of psalmody, the Dismissal of the Unrepentant, which, of course, was merely the liturgical expression of church discipline, and finally the celebration of the Lord's Supper each Lord's Day. Essentially what this meant was that in returning, Calvin demanded that Geneva accept liturgical order. Calvin also returned to Geneva with a collection of liturgical texts. First there were the prayers of the Church of Strasbourg: the Prayer of Confession, the Prayer for Illumination, the Prayer of Intercession and the Post-communion Thanksgiving. Second, he had with him the beginnings of a collection of French metrical psalms. With these elements Calvin was able to publish in the following year the Genevan Psalter of 1542 which is the subject of our inquiry.

Let us begin with a look at the psalmody contained in this psalter. First we find thirty psalms by Clément Marot, this more than doubles the collection found in the French Evangelical Psalm Book of 1539. Twenty-one of these psalms have been provided with new melodies written especially for the Genevan Psalter². Calvin's version of the Ten Commandments as well as that of the Song of Simeon are still in use but Marot's version of the Creed

¹ La forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques, avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacréments, et consacrer le Mariage: selon la coustume de l'Eglise ancienne (Geneva: n.n., 1542). A critical edition is to be found in OS, II, 0-58. A facsimile edition by Pierre Pidoux was published by Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel, 1959. An English translation is found in Thompson, LWC, 197-208. For studies of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 we refer to the list given at the beginning of the previous chapter section. In addition we call attention to the Introduction provided by Pierre Pidoux to his edition of the Genevan Psalter of 1542.

² Pierre Pidoux, in the introduction to his edition of the Genevan Psalter of 1542, 5.

has replaced Calvin's and Marot's rendering of the Lord's Prayer has been included¹.

Next let us observe four distinct liturgical differences between the Strasbourg and Genevan forms. First, the Genevan form contains no Assurance of Pardon. This was regretted by Calvin but the Genevan Reformer felt constrained to respect the sensitivities of the Genevans at this point. Secondly, the liturgical use of the Ten Commandments is not mentioned. Thirdly, we find that the clear distinction between the Prayer of Intercession and the Communion Invocation or Eucharistic Prayer, which Calvin so happily made in Strasbourg, has not found its way into the Genevan service. Fourthly, we find the unambiguous statement of the Dismissal of the Unrepentant.

Without a doubt these variations are largely to be explained in terms of the resistance of the people of Geneva to the puritanism of Calvin. To blame this on the "iconoclasm of Farel and his followers," is unwarranted. We have never found any reason to believe that Calvin was opposed by a Farel clique. An acquaintance with the politics of Geneva makes it clear that it was far from a "puritan influence" which opposed Calvin in Geneva but rather what is customarily called a "libertine" influence². As Calvin quite correctly understood, the heart of this opposition centered around the question of Church discipline, and its liturgical expression in the Dismissal of the Unrepentant. Here was the question on which Calvin had decided to take his stand. When genuine Church discipline could be established, the question of the Assurance of Pardon or the

¹ We find the picture of Marot's religious faith presented by C. A. Mayer in *La religion de Marot* (Geneva, 1960), hard to accept. Mayer claims that Marot had no interest in metaphysics and dogma. If this were true, we find it hard to understand why Marot should produce a metrical version of the Apostles' Creed. Mayer's attempt at making Marot into a doctrinaire humanist who had no interest in the transcendence of God but only in human relations and ethical problems is especially put in question by the psalms he chose to put in meter, especially those he selected before coming to Geneva. Mayer also denies that Marot is the author of *Sermon du bon Pasteur et du mauvais*, a denial which happily facilitates his position.

² Willem F. Dankbaar, *Calvin, sein Weg und sein Werk*, German translation by H. Quistorp (Neukirchen, 1959), 109-112; F. Wendel, *L'église de Strasbourg*, 89; Eugène Choisy, "La réforme calvinienne" *Histoire de Genève des origines à 1798* (Geneva: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève, 1951), 235-248.

use of the Ten Commandments in the liturgy would hardly be raised. And as the Genevan Reformers had already said in 1537, they were convinced that a more frequent celebration of Holy Communion could be established only after an improvement in the Christian life of the city¹.

J. CONCLUSION

Having now looked at the historical development of the Genevan Psalter of 1542, we have one thing to say above all else. The Genevan Psalter of 1542 is a liturgy and as all true liturgies it is the product of a community. We are not concerned with a writing of Calvin but rather with a document which had come out of the Reformed Church as a whole. It is a reformed liturgy because it is heir to the inner-church movement to reform the worship of the Church which was especially evident in northern Europe about the year 1500. It is a Reformed liturgy because it is heir to the whole history of the Reformed Church's particular attempt to be obedient to Christ's command "do this in remembrance of me." We have seen how the churches of Basel, Zurich, Constance and Strasbourg discussed among themselves the need for liturgical reform before there had been any concrete attempt at liturgical reform. We have seen how certain main types of Reformed liturgy were set up and how they began to influence each other. We have made special point of

¹ On the question of the Communion Invocation we cannot speak with certainty, but we are inclined to think that the form of the French Evangelical Psalter of 1545 is the direction that Calvin wished to go and that this is so is shown by the Anglo-Genevan Psalter of 1556. We shall speak of this in another chapter.

One matter would seem quite certain. Any difference which might be seen between the amount of "audience participation" in the Strasbourg service and the Genevan service is beside the point. As D. Scheuner points out, the question was not what the minister said or what the congregation said but what God said. That the psalms were sung by the congregation as some sort of audience participation gimmick may be of crucial importance to the modern liturgist absorbed in his fears that he is not relevant to modern democratic society, but to the sixteenth century the essential thing was that they were the songs of the Holy Spirit. Cf., D. Scheuner, "Calvins Genfer Liturgie und seine Strasburger Liturgie textgeschichtlich dargestellt," Festschrift für D. Albert Schädelin (Bern, 1950).

showing how the French-speaking Reformed Churches came to be related to this family and how, nevertheless, this tradition was enhanced by the particular aspects of the French Reformation. For twenty years this liturgy had remained in a fluid state. During this time it underwent influence from a vast number of sources. Like all liturgies, it has passed through many hands: Surgant, Zwingli, Marot, Luther, Oecolampadius, Schwarz, Farel, Geiler, Blarer, Capito, and Zwick. Like all true liturgies it has passed through just as many cities: Bern, Memmingen, Aigle, Neuchâtel, Ulm, Augusburg, Paris and Strasbourg. In each hand and in each city it has picked up a bit more polish and has joined itself a bit more closely to history. It is in a very real sense the liturgy not of Calvin, not of Geneva, but the liturgy of the Reformed Church.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

Bibliography of Reformed Liturgies, 1524-1542

The following bibliography is included for two reasons. First, it seemed desirable for reasons of clarity to give an English title to each of the liturgies we have studied. Instead of translating the titles, we have devised titles which identify each work according to the community for which it was intended, the nature of the publication, and its date. In most cases these liturgies were intended for a particular city or were intended to describe the worship of the Church of a particular city. The reasons for the variations will be evident from the foregoing chapter. We have tried to distinguish between service books, which are meant only for the hands of those conducting the worship, and psalters, which were meant for all those participating. The psalters, as distinguished from psalm books or hymn books, contained the liturgies for communion, baptism, and other services, as well as a collection of metrical psalms and hymns. In the case of certain of the earlier Strasbourg liturgies, it seemed better simply to translate the titles because most of the original titles actually are distinctive and so many similar publications appeared in little more than a year.

The second reason is that such a bibliography visually demonstrates the many lines of the liturgical ancestry of the Genevan Psalter as well as making evident that there were many important attempts of the early Reformed Church to formulate liturgies before the Genevan Psalter of 1542. Nevertheless, the bibliography which follows does not pretend to be exhaustive. It is to be hoped that other authors will be able to add to it.

AUGSBURG PSALTER OF 1530-1531

Form und ordnung gaystlicher Gesang und Psalmen, welche Got dem Herrn zuo lob und eer gesungen werden. Auch das Fruegebett, an stat der Bäbstlichen Mess zuo halten. Alles von newem Corrigiert gemert und gebesert. n.p. n.d.

AUGSBURG SERVICE BOOK OF 1537

Forma, wie von dem hailigen Tauf, und dem hailigen Sacrament des leibs und bluts Christ, und demnach vom Elichen Stand bey dem Einsegn der Eleut, zu reden sey, Gestellt in die Kirch und Gemaind Christi der Statt Augspurg. n.n. 1537.

AUGSBURG MORNING PRAYER SERVICE OF 1537

Die zehn gebot, Articul des Glaubens, Und das Vater unser, sampt ainer offnen Beicht und furbitt fur die gemeinen stend, Wie sy vor der Sontägigen Predig allhie zu Augspurg verlesen werden. Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1537.

BASEL SERVICE BOOK OF 1526

Form und Gestalt wie das Herren Nachtmahl, Der Kinder Tauff, Der Kranken heymsuochung zuo Basel gebraucht und gehalten werden. Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1526.

BASEL SERVICE BOOK OF 1526

Form und Gestalt wie der Kinder Tauff, des Herren Nachtmahl und der Kranken heymsuochung jetz zuo Basel von etlichen Predicanten gehalten werden. Basel, (Thomas Wolff) 1526.

BASEL SERVICE BOOK OF 1537

Form der Sacramenten bruch wie sy zuo Basel gebrucht werden mit sampt eynem Kurtzen Kinder bericht. Basel: Lux Schouber, 1537.

BERN SERVICE BOOK OF 1528

Ein kurtze gmeine form, kinder zetouffen, Die Ee zebestäten. Die Predig an zefahen und zu enden, wie es zu Bernn gebrucht wird. Zurich: Ch. Froschauer, 1528.

BERN SERVICE BOOK OF 1529

Ordnung unnd satzung dess Eegrichts, straff dess Eebruchs und Hury ze Bernn. Ouch form unnd gestalt der Eeelüten ynfürung, dess Touffs unnd Herrn Nachtmal, wie es ze Bernn gebrucht wirdt. Zurich: Ch. Froschauer, 1529.

BERN SERVICE BOOK OF 1541

Cancell unnd Agendbüchly der kilchen zu Bärn. Bern: Mathias Apiarius, 1541.

CONSTANCE SERVICE BOOK OF 1526

Form und Ordnung wie von dem Pfarrer zu sant Steffan in Constantz und sinen Curaten, mit Touffe, Richten Infueren von den abgestorben gehalten wurt. 1526.

GENEVAN SERVICE BOOK OF 1538

Lordre et maniere quon tient en administrant les saintz sacremens: assauoir, le Baptesme, et le Cene de nostre Seigneur. Item, en la celebration du Mariage & en la Visitation des malades. Auec la forme quon observe es predications, principalement quant aux exhortations & prieres quon y fait. Es lieux lesquelz Dieu de sa grace a visite, faisant que selon sa sainte parolle ce quil a deffendu en son Eglise soit reiette; & ce quil a commande, soit tenu. Geneva: Jehan Michel, 1538.

GENEVAN PSALTER OF 1542

La forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques, avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacramens, & consacrer le Mariage: selon la coustume de l'Eglise ancienne. Geneva: Jean Gerard, 1542.

MEMMINGEN SERVICE BOOK OF 1529

Ordnung und Brauch dess Herren nachtmals, in der Christenlichen Gemein zuo Memmingen, auf Ostern im neun- und zwainsigisten jar gehalten. Memmingen: n.n. 1529.

NEUCHATEL SERVICE BOOK OF 1533

La maniere et fasson quon tient en baillant le saint baptesme en la sainte congregation de dieu: et en espousant celux qui viennent au saint mariage, et a la sainte Cene de nostre seignr, es lieux lesqz dieu de sa grace a visite, faisant q. selon sa sainte parolle ce quil a deffendu en son eglise soit reiecte et ce quil a commande soit tenu. Aussi la maniere comment la predication commence, moyenne et finit, avec les prieres et exhortations quon faict a tous et pour tous, et de la visitation des malades. Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle, 1533.

STRASBOURG GERMAN MASS (A)

Teutsche Mesz und Tauff wie sye yetzund zuo Straszburg gehalten werden. Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, 1524.

Five printed editions are listed by Hubert, liturgischen Ordnungen, xi-xii.

STRASBOURG GERMAN MASS (B)

Ordnung und yndhalt Teütscher Mess und Vesper so yetzund im gebrauch haben Euangelisten und Christlichen Pfarrherrn zuo Straszburg.

Strasbourg: n.n. (1525).

STRASBOURG GERMAN CHURCH SERVICE OF 1524 (C)

Teutsch Kirchen ampt mit lobgesengen und goetlichen psalmen wie es die gemein zuo Straszburg singt und halt gantz Christlich. Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, 1624.

Three editions are listed by Hubert, liturgischen Ordnungen, xiii-xv.

STRASBOURG ORDER FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER OF 1525 (D)

Ordnung des herren Nachtmahl: so man die messz nennet sampt der Tauff und Insegung der Ee, Wie yetzt die diener des Wort gots zuo Strassburg Erneuert und nach götlicher gschrift gebessert haben uss ursach in nachgender Epistel gemeldet. Strasbourg: Johannes Schwann, 1525.

Two editions are listed by Hubert, liturgischen Ordnungen, xv-xvi.

STRASBOURG CHURCH SERVICE OF 1525 (E)

Straszburger kirchen ampt, nemlich von Insegnung d'Eeleüt, vom Tauf und von des herren nachtmal, mit etlichen Psalmen, die am end des büchlin, ordenlich verseychnet sein. Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, 1525.

STRASBOURG PSALTER OF 1526 (F)

Psalmen gebett und Kirchen ubung wie sie zum Straszburg gehalten werden. Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, 1526.

Three editions are listed by Hubert, liturgischen Ordnungen, xvi-xvii.

STRASBOURG PSALTER OF 1530 (G)

Psalmen gebett und kirchen uebung wie sie zuo Straszburg gehalten werden. Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, 1530.

STRASBOURG PSALTER OF 1533 (H)

Psalmen gebett und kirchen uebung wie sie zuo Straszburg gehalten werden.
Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, 1533.

STRASBOURG PSALTER OF 1537 (J)

Psalmen und Geystliche lieder, die man zu Straszburg und auch die man inn anderen Kirchen pflagt zu singen. Form und gebet zum einsegn der Ee dem heiligen Tauff, Abentmal, besuchung der Krancken und begrebnüs der abgestorbnen. Alles gemert und bebestert. Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, n.d.

This evidently went through several editions of Hubert, liturgischen Ordnungen, xxii-xxvii.

STRASBOURG PSALTER OF 1539 (K)

Psalter mit aller Kirchenübung die man bey der Christlichen Gemein zum Straszburg und anders wa pflaegt zum siingen. Strasbourg: Wolff Köpphel, 1539.

FRENCH EVANGELICAL PSALTER OF 1542 (Strasbourg)

La Maniere de faire prieres aux eglises Francoyses tant devant la predication comme apres, ensamble pseaulmes cantiques francoys . . . le tout selon la parolle de nren seigneur. Rome: Theodore Bruess, 1542.

FRENCH EVANGELICAL PSALM BOOK OF 1539 (Strasbourg)

Alcuns Pseaumes et Cantiques mys en chant.
Strasbourg, n.n. 1539.

ULM SERVICE BOOK OF 1531

Handtbüchlin darinn begriffen ist die Ordnung und weiss, wie die Sacrament und Ceremonien der Kirchen zu Ulm gebraucht und gehalten werden. n.p., n.n. 1531.

LEO JUD'S SERVICE BOOK (Zurich)

Ein kurtze und gemeine form für die schwach gleubigen: kinder zuo touffen. Ouch andere ermanungen zuo got: so da gmeinlich geschehen in Christenlichen versamlung. Zurich: Ch. Froschouer, 1523.

FIRST ZURICH SERVICE BOOK OF 1525

Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals, Gedechnus, oder Danksagung Christi wie sy vff Osteren zuo Zurich angehebt wirt jm jar als man zalt M.D. XXV. Zurich: Ch. Froschouer, 1525.

SECOND ZURICH SERVICE BOOK OF 1525

Action oder Brauch des Nachtmals, Gedechnus, oder Danchsagung Christi wie sy auff Ostern zuo Zürich angehebt wirt jm jar alls man zahlt M.D. XXV. Zurich: Ch. Froschouer, 1525.

THIRD ZURICH SERVICE BOOK OF 1525

Ordnung der Christlichen Kilchenn zuo Zurich. Kinder ze touffen. Die Ee zebestäten. Die Predig anzefahren und zuo enden. Gedächtnus der abgestorbenen. Das Nachtmal Christi zuo begon. Zurich: Ch. Froschouer, 1525.

ZURICH SERVICE BOOK OF 1535

Christlich Ordnung und bruch der Kilchen Zurich. Zurich: Ch. Froschouer, 1535.

Chapter II

I. THE PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE OF THE REFORMERS

Having in our first chapter discovered what community of people was responsible for the historical evolution of the Genevan Psalter of 1542, we now devote a chapter to discovering what this group of people knew about the literature of the ancient Church. We have seen in the first chapter how the Reformation of Alsace, Switzerland, and South Germany was characterized by "team work," or perhaps in more theological language, a synodical, conciliar, or collegial approach to reform. Therefore, it will not be enough to ask what Zwingli, Bucer, and Calvin knew about the Church Fathers. We must also take very seriously what their colleagues knew. With several of these men, particularly Oecolampadius, Pellikan, Hedio, and Musculus, we find an impressive patristic interest, but we do not speak of them primarily because as individuals they had studied the Fathers. We are concerned above all with enumerating the patristic knowledge of a large number of Reformers, and in so doing we want to present a broad picture of the patristic knowledge of a whole school of Reformers.

A. THE PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE OF ZWINGLI

Zwingli loved books. For a man of the sixteenth century, when books were rare and expensive, he had an astoundingly large private library. At the time of his death it included over three-hundred volumes¹. Even today many of these volumes are to be found in the library of Zurich, rich with the hand-written remarks and marginal notes of the great Reformer². These books are witness to the extent of his learning and the intensity of his study. Zwingli was not a casual reader who simply recognized his responsibility to keep up with the intellectual currents of his day. Confronted with what we know about his personal library, we must conclude that during his ten-year pastorate in Glarus

¹ Oskar Farner, *Huldrych Zwingli* (4 vols.; Zurich, 1943-1960), II, 118.

² *Ibid.*, 244.

and his two years as chaplain at the monastery of Einsiedeln he devoted a large part of his time to private study.

Theological literature was not Zwingli's only interest. Especially as a younger man he eagerly read the Greek and Roman classics. The catalogue of Zwingli's personal library, reconstructed by Köhler¹, indicates that during his ten years in Glarus Zwingli had studied Aristotle, Cicero, Demosthenes, Homer, Josephus, Juvenal, Livy, John Pico della Mirandola, Pliny, Plutarch, and Strabo. To this would be added various grammars, dictionaries, studies in rhetoric and a selection of scholastic theologians. When Zwingli finally comes onto the stage of history it is as an activist, a popular preacher and an able politician, but before he began his career as a Reformer he spent many years quietly reading in his library.

For four years Zwingli studied at the University of Basel. For our interests, Zwingli's connection with Basel is important because the presses of Johannes Amerbach and Jakob von Pforzheim were busily turning out the first printed editions of many of the Church Fathers. It is not quite certain whether Zwingli can be numbered among the inner circle of the disciples and friends of Erasmus. However, Zwingli had close friends who did belong to this inner circle, such as Beatus Rhenanus, Wilhelm Nesen, Wolfgang Fabritius Capito and others, and he was certainly known to the publisher Johann Froben². Zwingli was in close contact with the men who produced the editions of patristic literature which flowed from Basel. Farner suggests that Zwingli could well have known both the Amerbach edition of the works of Augustine, which Zwingli's friend Konrad Pellikan helped prepare, and Jakob von Pforzheim's edition of the works of Chrysostom, even before he left Basel for Glarus in 1506³.

When Zwingli left Basel to become pastor in Glarus, he still remained in the closest contact with the Christian Humanists of Basel as his correspondence clearly indicates. Evidently Zwingli was in the habit of commissioning his friends to keep him well supplied with the latest books. In a letter of 1516, Zwingli's old friend Heinrich Glarean reports to him that he is sending as many

¹ Ibid., 119-124. for Köhler's bibliography see p. 158 note 2.

² Ibid., 152-172.

³ Ibid., 234.

of the works of Tertullian and Lactantius as he can find, and also reports that one of the local book merchants, Wolfgang Lachner, had sent a purchasing agent to Venice for the latest editions of Aldus, one of the most important publishers of Renaissance Italy, and that if Zwingli wants to be sure of receiving a choice selection he should send him some money immediately, because books of such importance would be quickly sold in a city like Basel¹.

As it often happens, Zwingli's real theological formation began after he had left the university. In the Fall of 1506, he took up the duties of pastor in Glarus, a town deep in the Swiss Alps, bedded down by high mountains on all sides. It was in the disciplined study of Glarus that Zwingli began to mature as a theologian. According to Farner, it was probably some time between 1513 and 1515 that Zwingli began an intensive study of the Scriptures². And it is from Zwingli's own hand that we learn that this study was undertaken with the aid of the patristic commentaries³.

In 1516, Zwingli moved to the monastery of Einsiedeln as the chaplain of the abbot. There he followed an intensive study of the Scriptures. He had all the resources of a particularly rich monastery library in addition to his own personal library. Zwingli's notes on the Pauline epistles which he compiled during his Einsiedeln period have, fortunately, come down to us. It is clear that the Ambrosiaster, Jerome and Origen had been heavily used in his study. He had also used Augustine, Rufinus, Basil, Cyprian and Cyril of Alexandria⁴. During this same period, Zwingli studied the Erasmus edition of the complete

¹ CR, XCIV, 42.

² Farner, Huldrych Zwingli, 129-135.

³ Cf., Farner, Huldrych Zwingli, 129-130. Farner has attempted to give us a catalogue of Zwingli's library at the time he left Glarus for Einsiedeln in 1516. Recognizing that such a list can only be partial, he finds, in addition to the non-patristic works which we have already mentioned, the following editions of the Church Fathers: Augustine, *De civitate dei*, *De summa trinitate* (Basel, 1515); Cyril of Alexandria, *In Evangelium Johannis* (Paris, 1508); Gregory of Nazianzus, *Apologeticus* (Strasbourg, 1508); Gregory of Nyssa, *Libri octo* (Strasbourg, 1512); Jerome, *Opera* (Basel, 1516); Origen, *Opera* (Paris, 1512). Farner, Huldrych Zwingli 119-121. Farner's work is based on Walter Köhler's bibliography. Cf. below p. 158. It is interesting to notice the strong influence of the Alexandrian exegesis at the beginning of Zwingli's exegetical career.

⁴ Farner, Huldrych Zwingli, 239-240.

works of Jerome with enthusiasm. It was at Einsiedeln that he studied Augustine's sermons on the Gospel of John. For these sermons he had a particular admiration and, in fact, they seem to have deeply affected his theological development¹. However much Zwingli may have studied the Fathers, and however much he may have been helped in his study of the Scriptures by the patristic commentaries, Zwingli's primary interest, even in this early period, was the Bible itself². He acknowledges that in the beginning he had been considerably aided by the literature of the ancient Church, but he knew that the Fathers were often at odds among themselves and he felt that at times even they misunderstood the Scriptures. Having been helped by the Church Fathers, he leaned more and more to be dependent upon the source of their wisdom, the Holy Spirit³.

Two of Zwingli's writings are particularly important for helping us to understand what Zwingli knew of the worship of the ancient Church. The first is his study of the canon of the Roman mass, *De canone missae epichiresis*. The second is his *Christliche Antwort Zurichs an Bischof Hugo*. These two works are important because they give an insight into Zwingli's knowledge of the history of the liturgy in the two years directly before the changing of the forms of worship.

The *De canone missae epichiresis* was put down on paper in the space of four days at the end of August in 1523. The haste with which the work was produced was due to the pressure of his printer who wanted to have the work in time for the book fair at Frankfurt. However, the work is a reflection of research on the Canon of the mass in which Zwingli had been engaged for a number of years⁴. For our study three things should be noticed in this work.

1. A good deal of Zwingli's study is an example of what today we would call source criticism. The Christian Humanists of the Renaissance were well initiated in both textual and source criticism, as the works of Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus make quite clear. These methods were not the least bit strange to a good humanist like Zwingli. Zwingli recognized that the style of the Canon

¹ Ibid., 245-246.

² Ibid., 246.

³ CR, LXXXIX, 145.

⁴ Ibid., 557.

excluded the possibility of the Canon's being of the first two or three centuries¹. The Latin of the Canon was filled with barbarisms which could only be explained as the Latin of the sixth century or later². Zwingli goes on to argue that the Canon is not a coherent literary whole, the sequence of thoughts does not proceed logically and we find a number of repetitions which are best explained if the Canon is considered as the work of many hands throughout many centuries³. One thing is quite clear to Zwingli, the Canon of the mass which was in use in his day was neither of dominical nor apostolic origin, nor was it the heritage of the most ancient Christian centuries.

2. Secondly, we notice that Zwingli was not ignorant of the traditional literature on the history of the mass. He was familiar with this tradition from the history of the popes written by the Italian Renaissance historian Bartolommeo Sacchi, usually called Platina⁴. He may also have known this tradition from Rabanus Maurus⁵. According to this tradition, the mass was originally a very simple service but through the centuries one pope after another added various prayers and ceremonies. In chapter five we shall study this traditional history at greater length. At this point we simply wish to notice that Zwingli knows this source but feels that it should be used with caution⁶.

3. Finally, we want to notice that Zwingli did have some knowledge of liturgies other than the formulas used in the diocese of Constance. While in

¹ Ibid., 565, 569.

² Ibid., 564-565, 570, 587.

³ Ibid., 565.

⁴ It is from Platina that Zwingli learned of the traditional liturgical creations of Popes Gregory I (590-604), Gregory III (731-741), Leo II (682-683) and Sergius I (687-701). Cf., the notes in CR, LXXXIX, 564-565. Nevertheless, Zwingli does not take this traditional history as completely trustworthy. Cf., CR, LXXXIX, 587.

⁵ On the history of the mass given by this ninth-century archbishop of Mainz see Adolf Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902), 399-401. Henry Bullinger in his *De origine erroris, in negotio eucharistiae* (n.p., 1528) (hereinafter referred to as *De origine erroris*) speaks of the commentaries on the liturgy by Rabanus Maurus, Guillelmus Durandus (Franz, 476-481), Albertus Magnus (Franz, 466-472) and Gabriel Biel (Franz, 550-555).

⁶ "Platinae reliquisque rerum scriptoribus hac in re parum tribui debere arbitramur." CR, LXXXIX, 565.

Glarus he had discovered a number of old liturgical manuscripts¹. At that time Switzerland was a rich mine for collectors of ancient manuscripts due to the work of copying performed by the monks of St.Gallen, Reichenau and Einsiedeln early in the Middle Ages. We gather further, from remarks in the *De canone*, that Zwingli had studied other ancient liturgical manuscripts which we can logically assume were to be found in Einsiedeln². During his service as military chaplain in Italy he had had occasion to experience a celebration of the Ambrosian rite³. For our study, however, the most interesting thing to note is that Zwingli knew the *De sacramentis* of Ambrose⁴. The *De sacramentis* gives a considerable amount of information on the worship of the Christian Church at the end of the fourth century. It is in this work that we find quoted for the first time at any length from the Canon of the Latin Church. What is specially important to observe is that Zwingli's only interest in this liturgical text seems to be to show the possibility of having various liturgical forms. The Eucharistic Prayer, Zwingli concludes, had not been a "canon", or any other kind of set formula in the ancient Church. It had, rather, undergone various changes from place to place and from time to time. Zwingli saw no reason why there had to be an unchangeable "canon" in his day. Zwingli made no attempt to incorporate the liturgical texts quoted in the *De sacramentis* into the Reformed service of worship. Zwingli was not a liturgical antiquarian.

The second work which we wish to study is Zwingli's *Christliche Antwort Zurichs an Bischof Hugo* which appeared in August of 1524. At that time the mass was still being celebrated in Zurich and a celebration of an Evangelical Lord's Supper has not yet occurred. There are several things to be noticed in this document.

1. In the first place, we want to draw attention to the place given to the authority of the Fathers. The Biblical argument is by far the most significant argument. Essentially, Zwingli is not arguing from patristic evidence, he is arguing from Biblical evidence. The patristic argument comes in as rebuttal, that is, as answer to the charges of the theologians of the bishop of Constance.

¹ CR, LXXXIX, 133.

² Ibid., 598-599.

³ Ibid., 573.

⁴ Ibid., 566.

Zwingli does not in any way compromise the primacy of Scripture, but it is also evident that Zwingli does not answer the charge that the Church Fathers are against him with a rejection of their authority. His argument is rather that his opponents have not understood the Church Fathers¹. He does not understand his appeal to the Scriptures as being over against the Church Fathers².

2. Secondly, we notice that Zwingli has already begun to develop a certain list of testimonia to support his rejection of the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass. We will find that although this list grows as time goes on, the same passages of Augustine, Chrysostom, Hilary, Irenaeus, Jerome, Origen and Tertullian are referred to again and again. The patristic argument, secondary as it may have been, was nevertheless not a second thought added after the discussion was well in progress for merely apologetic reasons. Zwingli knew the patristic literature before he began his career as a Reformer. The Fathers were not consulted only after the liturgical reforms had been made, in an attempt to justify rashly made innovations. Zwingli did not always approve of the teachings of the Fathers, but he believed himself to be at least as close to the doctrine and practice of the ancient Church as his opponents.

3. A very interesting passage for understanding Zwingli's knowledge of the patristic studies of his time is his position in regard to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite³. The theologians of Bishop Hugo had called upon the *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* of Pseudo-Dionysius to show with what form and with what ceremonies the mass was to be celebrated. Zwingli does not admit this argument because he holds the work to be much later than the traditionally claimed date of the end of the first century. Not too long before this time, Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus had reached this conclusion. Zwingli seems to be more up to date on the patristic studies of his day than the theologians of Bishop Hugo.

4. Finally, let us notice Zwingli's reply to passages advanced against him from Tertullian. In the first place, he claims that his opponents have

¹ CR, XC, 220.

² At least he does not reject the authority of the early Fathers. It was another matter when it came to the Seventh Ecumenical Council, which after all was not held until the eighth century. CR, XC, 168-183.

³ Ibid., 219-220.

forced all three passages, but then he goes on to ask why his opponents did not take seriously what Tertullian had to say about idols and pictures¹. Here, it would seem, we find an indication of one of the more important Fathers for Zwingli. In Zwingli's work *Ad Matthaeum Albertum de coena dominica epistola* of the same year, we find Zwingli expressing great admiration for Tertullian as being a man of admirable piety and exemplary learning². Zwingli probably did not know Tertullian's *De idololatria*, but that was not necessary. Tertullian often condemned heathen superstitions and idolatry. Tertullian must have touched a sympathetic chord in the heart of Zwingli as he pleaded for the abolition of superstitious ceremonies and idolatrous images in the worship of the Church. The plea of Tertullian was the plea of Zwingli, and although we do not find that Zwingli spends great time quoting Tertullian, certainly this author must have given Zwingli the assurance that he was not only true to Scripture, but also true to the tradition of the ancient Church.

¹ Ibid., 220.

² Ibid., 346.

B. THE PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE OF KONRAD PELLIKAN

Konrad Pellikan was one of the younger members of the reform movement of Geiler von Kaysersberg, Jakob Wimpfeling, and Johann Ulrich Surgant. In 1501, he was called to be lecturer in theology at Basel's important Franciscan Priory. He was in his early twenties when he arrived in Basel but his help was soon enlisted by Bishop Christoph von Utenheim, who charged him with writing a theological manual to improve the education of diocesan priests. It was at this time that the publisher Johann Amerbach, encouraged by his friend Heynlin, was busily preparing the great first edition of the complete works of Augustine of Hippo. Amerbach turned the project over to Pellikan and by 1506 he had succeeded in finishing the last of the eleven folio-volumes of the edition. Amerbach immediately enlisted Pellikan's aid in the publishing of an equally large edition of the complete works of Jerome. He was, of course, particularly suited for this because like Jerome, he was a *vir trilingus*¹. In fact, he was one of those men who, like Reuchlin and Capito, was responsible for restoring a knowledge of Hebrew to the Christian Church². The Jerome edition was slow in appearing. Amerbach died but his successor Froben continued the work. In 1511, Pellikan was called to Pforzheim and Erasmus, Oecolampadius, and Beatus Rhenanus completed the edition. Of course, the edition is today known as the "Erasmus" edition, but it was Pellikan who began it. In 1519, he returned to Basel as guardian of the Franciscan Priory. Once again he became involved in the work of producing editions of the Church Fathers. This time it was in collaboration with Beatus Rhenanus who was working on the first edition of the works of Tertullian³. In Pellikan's preface we see that already the relevance of the early third-century writer was seen for the reform of the liturgy.

Pellikan was a shy, scholarly man whose character as well as his scholarship was greatly respected. He was an exemplary monk and sided with

¹ Rudolf Wackernagel, *Humanismus und Reformation in Basel*, 139.

² On Pellikan's contribution to the revival of Hebrew see the article of Hermann Strack, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Leipzig, 1896-1913), XV, 108-111. (Hereinafter referred to as RE).

³ Wackernagel, *Humanismus und Reformation in Basel*, p. 225.

the Reformation out of his love for the Church and his concern for the purity of Christian life. In 1523, along with Oecolampadius he was appointed professor of theology by the city council and was Oecolampadius' colleague in introducing the Reformation into Basel. In 1525, he was called to Zurich to be professor of Old Testament where he remained until his death in 1556.

C. THE PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE OF OECOLAMPADIUS¹

From the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Basel had been the center of much earnest discussion about the reform of the Church. The Bishop of Basel, Christoph von Utenheim, had for a quarter of a century tried to institute reforms proposed by his close friend, the German Christian Humanist, Jakob Wimpfeling. Then there was Erasmus and the constant stream of Christian scholars who came to sit at his feet and hear about the renewal of the Church. It was from Basel that Zwingli had gone out to become the Reformer of Zurich. Capito and Hedio likewise had set out from Basel to become the Reformers of Strasbourg. When the time finally came to reform the Church of Basel it was to John Oecolampadius that the responsibility fell.

It will be relatively simple to speak of the patristic knowledge of Oecolampadius. Oecolampadius has unfortunately left us with no apologetical writings on his reform of worship, but he has left us with a great monument to his enthusiasm for the literature of the ancient Church, a whole collection of Latin translations of the Greek Fathers.

In September of 1515, the publishing house of Johann Froben offered Oecolampadius a position as assistant editor. There he was to work with Erasmus on his historic edition of the Greek New Testament. Wolfgang Capito, whom Oecolampadius had counted among his closest friends ever since the time they were together at the University of Heidelberg, was already involved in the same work. Erasmus, who was not particularly accomplished as a Hebrew scholar, had wanted the aid of someone more competent in the subject and it was Oecolampadius who was chosen for this task². At the time Erasmus was lodging at the home of Froben and it was there that Oecolampadius too was invited to take up residence. Thus the future Reformer entered into the circle of Erasmus, one of the greatest patristic scholars in the history of the Church.

¹ For the information in this chapter we are greatly indebted to the biography of Oecolampadius by Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads* (Leipzig, 1939). (Hereinafter referred to as *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*). This work is certainly one of the most inspiring scholarly works available on the Reformation. It has been a constant help and example for our present study.

² *Ibid.*, 61.

After the Greek New Testament was published, Froben charged Oecolampadius with the preparation of the index of the enormous nine-folio-volume Erasmus edition of the works of Jerome¹. During the year 1517, he gave almost his entire time to this work which he finished sometime early in 1518 although it was not finally published until 1520. When it finally appeared it had developed into a folio-volume of 360 pages. There were four different indexes: Index omnium, quae insigniter dicta sunt a divo Hieronymo, Index scholiorum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami super opera divi Hieronymi, and then an index of Greek words and finally an index of Hebrew words². With this index, the new edition of Jerome would become the greatest possible aid to the Biblical exegetes of the coming age. It was, of course, exactly in this way that we see Zwingli using Jerome.

In November of the following year, Oecolampadius published a translation of several shorter works of the Greek Fathers on penance³. It was probably in connection with his new position as Confessor General for the bishop of Basel that he produced this collection⁴. The first of the works is the On Penance of the Patriarch Peter of Alexandria⁵. The second is the Canonical Epistle of Gregory the Wonder-worker⁶. Then there is a work on simony by the fifth-century patriarch, Gennadius of Constantinople⁷. All three of these works were drawn from a collection of the canonical writings of the Greek Church⁸, and

¹ Index in tomos omnes operum Divi Hieronymi (Basel: Johannes Froben, 1520).

² Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads, 69.

³ De poenitentia Petri archiepiscopi Alexandrini et martyris canones, Gregorii Neocaesariensis episcopi canones, de simonia Gennadii patriarchae Constantinopolitani encyclia epistola, de ligandi et solvendi potestate Nicephori Chartophylacis Constantinopolitani archiepiscopi epistola, Joanne Oecolampadio interprete (Basel: Johannes Froben, 1518).

⁴ Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads, 89.

⁵ Johannes Quasten, Patrology (3 vols.; Utrecht and Antwerp, 1966), II, 115-116.

⁶ Ibid., 126-127.

⁷ Ibid., III, 525-526.

⁸ Staehelin finds the source of Oecolampadius' translation to be a manuscript now to be found in the University Library of Basel under the title Theodori Balsamonis commentarius in canones ss. apostolorum et conciliorum etc.

according to Staehelin, were destined to have a great effect on the ecclesiastical discipline of the Reformed Church of Basel¹.

In December of 1518, Oecolampadius was appointed cathedral preacher at Augsburg. In the following March he published a small volume with the translations of three sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus². As in his position of Confessor General with his previous publication, he seemed once again to be intent on putting his patristic studies in the service of his pastoral responsibilities. The three sermons concerned the duty of the Christian toward the poor³, an encouragement of the celibate life⁴, and finally a sermon on the Maccabees⁵. In May, a second volume of sermons by Gregory of Nazianzus was published⁶. This time we find a sermon for Easter, a sermon on Matthew 19, and a sermon on the Martyr Cyprian of Antioch. Oecolampadius had evidently undertaken the study of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus as a model for his preaching. Capito had acquired for him a manuscript of the sermons of Gregory which belonged to the Dominican priory of Basel⁷. Oecolampadius was particularly impressed with the literary excellence of Gregory of Nazianzus and, therefore, he used him as a model.

It was in Augsburg that Oecolampadius first began to feel the tremors of the earth-shaking events which Luther had begun three years before. He had considerable hesitations about his ability as a preacher and what he considered to be his shortcomings were a source of anguish to him⁸. So it was that in April of 1520, he entered the monastery at Altomünster. Shortly afterward he

¹ Staehelin, *Lebenserk Oekolampads*, 91.

² *De amandis pauperibus Gregorii Nazaneni episcopi et theologi sermo, eiusdem ad virginem admonitorius, eiusdem laudes Maccabaeorum, interprete Joanne Oecolampadio* (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1519).

³ *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. by J.P. Migne (Paris, 1857-1912), XXXV, 857ff. (Hereinafter referred to as PG).

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 632ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXV, 911ff.

⁶ *Divi Gregorii eruditi aliquot et morae frugis sermones: In Pascha; in dictum-Matthaei . . . , cap. XIX; Laudes Cypriani Martyris, Oecolampadio interprete* (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1519).

⁷ Staehelin, *Lebenserk Oekolampads*, 102-103.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

published another translation of the third-century Greek Church Father, Gregory the Wonder-worker. This time it was his *Metaphrasis in Ecclesiastes*¹. Once again we see the clear evidence of an ascetic tendency in the piety of our Reformer. This tendency in the patristic studies of Oecolampadius becomes even clearer with his other translations.

In that same summer Bernhard Adelman sent Oecolampadius a manuscript of the *Sermons Explaining the Orthodox Faith of John of Damascus*, together with the *De charitate* of Thalassius. It was to the work of Thalassius that he first turned his attention². This is a collection of sayings on the ascetic life written by the seventh-century Lybian abbot, who was also a friend of Maximos the Confessor³. For Oecolampadius the desert saints were a good example to set before the monks of his day, because although they lived in great simplicity they possessed great wisdom and above all they lived serious, holy and evangelical lives⁴. This is probably not the way a contemporary Christian brought up in the tradition of the Western Church would evaluate the desert saints, but Oecolampadius saw the piety of the Egyptian desert with considerable favor.

Oecolampadius did not have the same admiration for John of Damascus; although he did respect him sufficiently to publish a translation of one of his sermons⁵. The sermon concerned prayers for the dead and purgatory. It presented the development of the Greek Church on the question. The Eastern and the Western Church had debated the question at the Council of Florence less than a hundred years before and it had been discussed at the Council of Basel at the beginning of the previous century. Oecolampadius had become interested

¹ In ecclesiastem Solomonos *Metaphrasis divi Gregorii Neocaesariensis episcopi*, interprete Oecolampadio (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1520).

² *De charitate, contientia et regimine mentis Thalassii hecatontades quattuor*, Joanne Oecolampadio interprete (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1520).

³ Hans Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 449-450; and O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (5 vols; Freiburg in Breisgau, 1902-1932). V, 82-83. (Hereinafter referred to as *Altkirchliche Literatur*)

⁴ Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 117.

⁵ *Quantum defunctis prosint viventium bona opera, sermo Joannis Damasceni*, Joanne Oecolampadio interprete (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1520).

in the position of the Orthodox Church while he was Confessor General in Basel and seems to have become acquainted with the writings of Bessarion and Mark of Ephesus who had presented the position of the Greek Church at Florence¹. At the time at least, Oecolampadius probably considered the Orthodox solution to the problem more favorably than that of the Western Church and in that spirit translated and published the work². More of the sermons in the manuscript provided by Adelman he did not publish, but he did leave us a translation of the life of John of Damascus written by the Patriarch John of Jerusalem³. He returned the manuscript to his friend with his translation and an accompanying letter in which he lamented the fact that with the purity of the Gospel so much philosophy had been mixed⁴. It is interesting to note this Reformer's choice between two different strands in the rich tradition of Eastern theology. The speculation of John of Damascus influenced as he was by the Neoplatonism of Pseudo-Dionysius, inspired him very little, whereas the moral earnestness and discipline of the desert fathers seemed a most profitable and timely example.

In 1522, Oecolampadius devoted much of his time to the translation of a codex of selected works of John Chrysostom, even though it was a year of considerable turmoil for him. In January, he left the monastery and after a month with Hedio, who was then cathedral preacher at Mainz, he was given the position of chaplain at Ebenburg castle by Franz von Sickingen. By the end of the year he was again in Basel, having been received by the publisher Andreas Cratander. It was in Mainz that he found the codex of the sermons of John Chrysostom. The codex was from the ninth or tenth century and belonged to the Dominican priory in Basel. Capito, who had preceded Hedio as preacher to the Cathedral of Mainz, had brought it with him from Basel. While in Mainz, Oecolampadius translated several sermons but it was not until he had moved to Ebenburg

¹ Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 91.

² *Ibid.*, 117-118.

³ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 159.

that he was to proceed further with the work¹. Three of these sermons were published as separate tracts in Mainz².

In March, 1523, an additional seventeen of these selected works together with Oecolampadius' commentary was published by Cratander under the title "The Psegmata"³. In the introduction we read the highest praise of John Chrysostom. His writings "teach the Scriptures with purity, refute the adversaries of faith, unlock the mysteries of Scripture, establish the best way of life and root out vice"⁴. Clearly what attracted Oecolampadius to this great Father of the Byzantine Church was his sober exegesis and his puritan morality. We shall have occasion to look more closely at this collection which, having been published shortly before the first celebrations of Reformed services of worship, may give us an insight into Oecolampadius' understanding of John Chrysostom in regard to worship at the time the actual liturgical revisions were made⁵.

The *Comparatio regis et monachi*, a writing on the meaning of the monastic life, was published in the following October and was dedicated to his father confessor at the monastery as a sort of going away present to show that he still had some positive thoughts on the subject⁶.

The great success which welcomed the *Psegmata* inspired Cratander with the plan to produce a large seven-volume edition of the works of John

¹ Ibid., 160-161.

² In dictum Apostoli ad Corinthios. Cum autem subiecta fuerint omnia sermo, trans. by John Oecolampadius (Mainz: Io. Schoeffer, 1522).

In dictum Apostoli Opertet & haereses esse, trans. by John Oecolampadius (Mainz: Io. Schoeffer, 1522).

Sermo de eleemosyna & collation in sanctos, trans. by John Oecolampadius (Augsburg: Grimm und Wirsung, 1522).

³ Divi Joannis Chrysostomi Psegmata quaedam, nuperime a Joanne Oecolampadio in Latinum primo versa cum adnotationibus eiusdem, trans. by John Oecolampadius (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1523). This might roughly be translated "Nuggets of Gold from Saint John the Goldenmouthed."

⁴ Quoted by Staehelin in *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 174.

⁵ A summary of each of these works is given by Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 174-181.

⁶ Ibid., 181.

Chrysostom. By September, 1523, the first volume containing the sixty-six sermons on Genesis was off the presses¹. With this work Oecolampadius becomes clearly a partisan of the Antiochian exegesis as opposed to the Alexandrian school. In the dedication of the work to Nikolaus von Wattenwyl, one of the leading churchmen of Bern, he admits that the exegesis of Origen, Didymus and Cyril of Alexandria do have the appearance of being profound, but it is really the great patriarch of Constantinople who gives us the deepest understanding of the Scriptures. Nevertheless, Chrysostom, for all the help he gives us in understanding the Scriptures, is not to be taken as being of equal authority with the Scriptures. Oecolampadius is not in agreement with Chrysostom in every detail of exegesis, but just the same, no one could be more helpful in the study of the sacred writing.

It was not until seven years later, in 1530, that Oecolampadius again turned to the translating of the sermons of John Chrysostom. In those seven years the city of Basel had definitively decided for the Reformation and the responsibility for leading this reform had been given to Oecolampadius. Erasmus had not gone along with the majority of his disciples and broke with the reform which he had done so much to begin. He left Basel for Freiburg. However, Johann Froben, having completed a new edition of Augustine in 1529, planned a new edition of John Chrysostom which would make available to Western readers considerable portions of his work previously unavailable². Finding someone to make the Latin translations was difficult and so in spite of the theological rift which had developed between the two men, Erasmus asked Oecolampadius for the translations of 29 sermons on II Corinthians and 55 sermons on the Book of Acts. In addition, he reprinted Oecolampadius' translations of the 66 sermons on Genesis and numerous works from the *Psephmata*. This was in spite of the charge of certain Catholic theologians that Oecolampadius had falsely translated Chrysostom in order to support Protestant ideas³.

¹ Cf., the annotated bibliography at the end of this chapter for bibliographical details.

² Cf., the annotated bibliography.

³ Erasmus, while admitting that there had been certain mistakes in the translations and that occasionally the Ciceronian elegance was not what it might be, defended Oecolampadius against the charge of reading Protestant ideas into his translations. Cf., Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 456-457 and 620-621.

It was as a consequence of Oecolampadius' decision for the Antiochian school of exegesis that he was led to translate a commentary on the four gospels by the Byzantine exegete of the tenth century, Theophylactus¹. He was a good example of the best tradition of Byzantine scholarship, joining a profound knowledge of both Sacred Scripture and the writings of the Fathers. His commentaries draw heavily not only from John Chrysostom as one would expect, but also from that other great exegete of the Antiochian school, Theodoret of Cyrus. As early as 1515 or 1516, Erasmus had brought a manuscript of his works in the Dominican convent in Basel to the attention of Oecolampadius². Capito had also used his commentary while giving his sermons on the Gospel of Matthew as cathedral preacher in Basel in 1519³. The translation appeared in a large folio-volume in March of 1524.

Already in 1524, Cratander had published a selection from the works of Cyril of Alexandria⁴. Now he wished to enlarge the collection with several additional works and was able to secure the services of Oecolampadius for the Latin translations⁵. Oecolampadius had used a codex which had belonged to Reuchlin and was at the time in the library of the Markgraf Philip of Baden. The other works came from a codex belonging to the Dominican convent of Basel. The orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, so fully treated in the works of Cyril, has always been carefully adhered to in the Reformed Church. It may well be that Cyril of Alexandria was the theologian who was behind the Reformers' uncompromising refusal to listen to Michael Servetus a bit more than a year after when he began to attack the doctrine of the Trinity.

¹ Theophylacti, archiepiscopi Bulgariae, in quatuor evangelia enarrationes, trans. by John Oecolampadius (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1524).

² Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads, 185.

³ J.W. Baum, Capito und Butzer Strasbourgs Reformatoren. (Elberfeld, 1860), 41.

⁴ Cf., the annotated bibliography.

⁵ Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads, 454-455.

D. MARTIN BUCER'S PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE¹

1. Bucer's Study of Patristic Literature Before His Decision for the Reformation

Bucer was a theologian who had felt many influences. His education began in the Latin School of Sélestat, one of the centers of the Alsacian Christian Humanism. As a fifteen-year-old boy he had entered the Dominican priory of his native city and there received an education in the classical tradition of Thomas Aquinas. At the eve of the Reformation, we find him at the University of Heidelberg absorbed in the study of Erasmus, and counting as a boyhood friend one of the most trusted disciples of Erasmus, Beatus Rhenanus. When in April 1518 Luther came to Heidelberg, the enthusiasm of Bucer was immediate and he considered himself a disciple of both Luther and Erasmus².

In a consideration of Bucer's knowledge of patristic sources, we should not overlook the importance of Jakob Wimpfeling, who like Bucer was a native of Sélestat. Wimpfeling, together with Johannes Geiler and Christoph von Utenheim, the bishop of Basel about whom we have already spoken, had not only a strong influence on Bucer but on Jakob Sturm and Oecolampadius as well³. As the Reformers after him were to do, Wimpfeling urged a more Augustinian theology. Wimpfeling was a Christian Humanist and as such he was interested in the cultivation of the purest Latin, so it was that the study of Lactantius, Prudentius and Jerome took on special importance in the Sélestat Latin School.

¹ For a truly comprehensive appraisal of the patristic knowledge of Bucer, we will have to wait for the completion of Martin Bucers *Deutsche Schriften*, currently being undertaken by the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften under the leadership of Robert Stupperich, and the *Martini Bucer opera latina*, currently undertaken by the Evangelical Theological Faculty of the University of Strasbourg.

² We gather from the standard biographies of Bucer that the details of Bucer's life are rather obscure until the time when he decides for the Reformation. J.W. Baum, *Capito und Butzer*, Strasbourgs Reformatoren (Elberfeld, 1860), 87-115; G. Anrich, *Martin Bucer* (Strasbourg, 1914), 1-8; H. Eells, *Martin Bucer*, (New Haven, 1931), 1-6.

³ Anrich, *Martin Bucer*, 2; Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 15-24.

For Wimpfeling the Fathers were an alternative to scholastic theology, rather than a quarry for proof-texts to support theological disputes¹. Surely the influence of Wimpfeling and his circle contributed to Bucer's interest in patristic literature. We would therefore suggest that by the time Bucer left Sélestat, that is, before Bucer was twenty-six years old, he had a good basic knowledge of the patristic literature so carefully cultivated in his native city².

Certainly for Bucer the influence of Erasmus is of great importance. As tutor in the Dominican priory at Heidelberg he enthusiastically introduced his students to *The Praise of Folly*³. As early as 1518 his private library was well stocked with the works of Erasmus. The call to return to the sources was heard loud and clear by Bucer who eagerly procured for himself the editions of the Church Fathers which Erasmus produced one after another⁴. It was these editions of Erasmus which gave Bucer such a mastery of the works of Jerome, Cyprian, Ambrose, Hilary of Poitiers and Augustine.

In the first volume of *Martin Bucers deutsche Schriften* there is a list of books which Bucer had borrowed from the Dominican priory in Sélestat. This list, written by Bucer, is dated April, 1518⁵. From this we learn that Bucer had been reading the humanist editions of Cicero, Ovid, Virgil and Horace. In addition, we find the classics of a Dominican theological education, the works of Aristotle and Thomas of Aquinas. We also find the names of Cajetan, Clichtoveus, Le Fèvre and Erasmus. The works of four Church Fathers

¹ Cf., H. Hermelink, "Wimpfeling," *RE*, XXI, 250-257.

² The account of Bucer's education in the "reformed" Dominican priory of Sélestat written by J.W. Baum more than a hundred years ago does not seem to have been revised by any of the succeeding biographers. (Baum, *Capito und Butzer*, 92-94) The subject of Bucer's monastic education might profitably be re-investigated in the light of a more positive attitude toward the scholarly concerns of monasticism. We find no reason for believing, on the basis of the material offered by Baum, that Bucer's contact with the Christian Humanists of his native city stopped when he entered the monastery. That Bucer had been attached to the circle of Sélestat humanists is evident from the title of the 1520 edition of Prudentius quoted in the appendix to this chapter.

³ Anrich, *Martin Bucer*, 6.

⁴ Stupperich in *BDS*, VII, 73-74.

⁵ Unfortunately the original has been lost. The editor promises that a full study of this list will be published by Dr. Jean Rott in the near future.

are included, the *De divinis nominibus* of Dionysius, an edition of the works of Lactantius, a short work of Athanasius on the devotional use of the psalms¹, and a collection of eight works attributed to Gregory of Nyssa². As we shall have occasion to see, this work of Athanasius may well have contributed to the enthusiasm of the Reformed Church for psalmody. That Lactantius is included we find specially interesting in light of the fact that Book VI of *The Divine Institutes* is devoted to a consideration of the nature of true worship. It seems probable that this work of Lactantius is partly responsible for the opposition of the South German Reformers to a sacrificial understanding of worship and to the liturgical use of images.

2. Bucer's Knowledge of the Exegetical Literature of the Ancient Church

As a result of hearing Luther in Heidelberg, Bucer became an enthusiastic supporter of the Reformation as early as April, 1518. With this he began a careful exegetical study of the Scriptures. While still in Heidelberg he began lecturing on the Psalms, in Weissenburg he preached through First Peter and the Gospel of Matthew, and in Strasbourg, beginning in December 1523, Bucer preached and lectured on one book of the Bible after another. The theological lectures were given for the theologians of the city in the home of Capito, but later expanded to the point of being held in the Dominican priory. These lectures, as modestly as they began, turned out to be the founding of the University of Strasbourg. For the most part, Bucer concentrated on the books of the New Testament, leaving the books of the Old Testament to Capito, while Hedio lectured on church history³.

¹ The list gives simply *Athanasii in Psalmos opusculum* which we suggest refers to an edition of *Epistula ad Marcellinum de interpretatione Psalmorum* published by Reuchlin in Tübingen in 1515.

² This is surely the edition of *Beatus Rhenanus* published in Strasbourg in 1512. Cf. Appendix p. 169

³ Bucer did on occasion treat Old Testament books. In addition to lecturing on the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John, Ephesians, Colossians, I and II Thessalonians, the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews and James, he is known to have lectured on Isaiah, Judges, Zephaniah and the Psalms. See J. Müller, *Martin Bucers Hermeneutik* (Gütersloh, 1965), 12-14; also Eells, *Martin Bucer*, 65-69.

In the preparation of these lectures the commentaries of the Fathers would, of course, have been used as exegetical tools as they had been for centuries. However, Bucer had in addition some new tools which to the Reformers were much more interesting, the texts of the Sacred Scriptures in Hebrew and Greek. From the time of the appearance of the Erasmus Greek New Testament and the publication of Capito's Hebrew psalter, the Reformers of Strasbourg devoted themselves to a philological and historical study of the Biblical literature. Since both Capito and Bucer were very much involved in the rediscovery of Hebrew by Christian theologians, we find a new recognition of the value of rabbinical literature as an exegetical tool¹. The result of this long period of exegetical study is a series of commentaries. A commentary on the Synoptic Gospels appeared in 1527²; the following year a commentary on the Gospel of John³; then in 1529 a commentary on the Psalms⁴ and finally in 1536 a commentary on Romans⁵.

In the preface of the 1530 edition of the commentaries on the four Gospels⁶ Bucer tells us that there are many ancient commentaries on the Synoptic Gospels but with the exception of that of John Chrysostom they have all obscured the

¹ The medieval Church had not completely forgotten the usefulness of rabbinical literature to Christian exegesis as Nicolas of Lyra (c. 1270-1349) and Paul of Bugos (1351-1435) show.

² *Enarrationum in Evangelia Matthaei, Marci & Lucae, libri duo. Loci communes syncerioris Theologiae supra centum, ad simplicem scripturarum fidem, citra ullius insecutionem aut criminationem, excussi, per M. Bucerum, Argentorati, M.D. XXVII.*

³ *Enarratio in evangelion Johannis, praefatio, summam Disputationis & Reformationis Bern, complectens, per M. Bucerum, Argentorati, M.C. XXVII.*

⁴ *S. Psalmorum libri quinque ad ebraicam veritatem versi, et familiari explanatione elucidati, per Aretium Felinum theologum, (Strasbourg: George Ulrich Andlan, 1529).*

⁵ *Metaphrases et enarrationes perpetuae epistularum D. Pauli Apostoli . . . Tomus primus continens metaphrasim et enarrationem in Epistolam ad Romanos (Strasbourg, 1536).*

⁶ *Enarrationes perpetuae in sacra quatuor evangelia, recognitae nuper et locis compluribus auctae . . . (Strasbourg: G. Ulricher, 1530). A. Lang, Der Evangelienkommentar Martin Butzers (Leipzig, 1900), 12-93 gives a full account of the origin of the commentary on the four Gospels and of its succeeding editions. (Hereinafter referred to as *Evangelienkommentar*).*

text with mystical or allegorical exegesis. The implication is clear: after a decade of exegetical studies which included the commentaries of John Chrysostom, Jerome, Hilary of Poitiers and Origen, the Reformers have rejected the exegetical school of Alexandria and embraced the exegetical school of Antioch. This rejection of Origen is particularly interesting in view of the fact that in 1527 the Lord's Supper controversy was at its height¹. Patristic literature is not frequently mentioned in the commentary although it is clear from those references which we do find that Bucer does know the classical commentaries on Matthew. These references are to be explained neither as an attempt to decorate his work nor by an apologetic interest. We have found about a half dozen references to Chrysostom². We have found four references to Jerome³. From these four we gather that Bucer recognized the special value of Jerome for Palestinian geography and other matters for which an inhabitant of Palestine would be uniquely competent. Hesychius is quoted twice⁴. We have not found a single explicit reference to the highly allegorical commentaries of Origen or Hilary of Poitiers. We are inclined to think, however, that a modern edition of the text would show that Bucer had studied both Hilary of Poitiers' commentary on Matthew, which was to be found in the Erasmus edition of Hilary, and the sermons of Origen on the Gospel of Matthew, which were equally accessible to the Reformers.

In the commentary on John, the Church Fathers are mentioned no more frequently. We find only the remark in the preface that Bucer has no desire to put his work above those of the ancient commentators such as Chrysostom and Augustine, nor above the more recent commentators such as Melancthon and Erasmus. He does not mention Cyril of Alexandria's commentary but it seems to have been standard reading at the time. We can hardly imagine that

¹ One might have expected the Reformers to have found in Origen a ready ally in opposing the literalist interpretation of Luther. Cf., J. Danielou, *Origen, le génie du christianisme* (Paris, 1948), 74-79. It is interesting to note that in the month of July of the same year Erasmus published at Froben's in Basel, *Fragmentum Commentariorum Origenis in Euangelium secundum Matthaeum*.

² *Enarrationes perpetuae in sacra quatuor evangelia*, 52r, 65r, 67v, 177r, 178r 182r; also 118v to 119r.

³ 69v, 72v, 92r, 179r.

⁴ pp. 1r and 186v.

Bucer would have neglected to read the patristic commentaries which he assumes his readers have already studied.

The commentary on the Psalms was originally published in 1529¹. At the beginning of the volume we find a very interesting list of authors whose writings have enriched Bucer's commentary. It is about the closest thing we have found to a bibliography in a sixteenth-century book. More than seventy authors are mentioned. We find about a dozen rabbis, such classical authors as Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Heroditus and Strabo. Thomas Aquinas is also mentioned. This list may well have been drawn up by the editor; however, a study of the patristic authors in this "bibliography" gives us some good hints about what Bucer may have read. There is no reason to doubt that Bucer was indeed familiar with the authors that are listed. We find the following ecclesiastical authors listed: Ambrose, Apollinarius, Arnobius Gallus, Athanasius, John Chrysostom, the canons of the Church councils, Cyprian, Cyril, John of Damascus, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Gregory the Great, Jerome, Hilary of Poitiers, the *Historia tripartita*, Hesychius, Irenaeus, Isidor of Seville, the *leges imperiales*, Lactantius and Tertullian. Having begun the commentary with such an impressive catalogue of Church Fathers, one would expect that the commentary would be filled with quotations from the Fathers. Quite to the contrary, they are rarely mentioned although the rabbinical commentators are mentioned on almost every page². This is largely due to the fact that few of the patristic commentaries take into account the Hebrew text. Nevertheless, the traditional Christian interpretation of such Psalms as 22 and 118 is maintained by Bucer. Such writers as Apollinarius of Hierapolis and Epiphanius are probably not to be taken too

¹ We regret that we have had to rely on the edition printed in Geneva in 1554 for our research. We have found, however, no reason to doubt that the "bibliography" we shall discuss is reprinted from the original edition.

² Among the most frequently quoted rabbis are David Kimchi (1160-1235) who with his father Joseph and his brother Moses formed in southern France an important school of exegesis which emphasized the importance of grammatical exegesis. Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092-1164) a Spanish rabbi, well known for philological studies, is also frequently quoted by Bucer.

seriously¹. Arnobius² and Hesychius³ are, however, noteworthy. Of this list seven have left us commentaries on the Psalms, either in whole or in part⁴: Ambrose, Arnobius the Younger, Athanasius, John Chrysostom, Jerome, Hesychius of Jerusalem and Hilary of Poitiers. We hold it for probable that Bucer used Ambrose's commentary on Psalms, 1, 35-40, 45, 47, 48 and 61, although Ambrose is not explicitly mentioned in the commentary on these psalms. We have already mentioned that Bucer had a copy of *Epistula ad Marcellinum de interpretatione Psalmorum*. Quite certain is his use of Jerome and Hilary of Poitiers⁵. That he used the 1522 Erasmus edition of Arnobius seems likely. The psalm commentaries of John Chrysostom and Hesychius of Jerusalem, as far as we have been able to discover, had not yet been printed.

In the commentary on Romans we find a completely different tendency. Here the classical commentaries are frequently mentioned. It is his policy which he announces in the preface to speak of the interpretation of the Fathers in relation to each passage. In the letter of dedication, in which Bucer dedicates his work to Thomas Cramner, Bucer lists the ancient commentaries,

¹ We assume Bucer knows about Apollinarius from Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 27 and V, 16-18. Cf., Quasten, *Patrology*, I, 228-229. Epiphanius, the fourth-century bishop of Salamis, was greatly appreciated by the Reformers because of his opposition to the liturgical use of images. Their knowledge of him, however, seems to be limited to Jerome's Latin translation of one of his letters. Cf., Quasten, *Patrology*, III, 384-396.

² Arnobius Gallus or the Younger, was an early fifth-century opponent of Augustine's doctrine of grace and predestination. His allegorical commentary on the Psalms was edited by Erasmus in 1522.

³ It is not clear whether Bucer has in mind Hesychius of Alexandria whose Greek lexicon was frequently printed in the sixteenth century or Hesychius of Jerusalem who produced three works on the Psalms. We have not been able to discover sixteenth-century editions of these three works. However, in 1527, Cratander published a commentary on Leviticus by Hesychius of Jerusalem.

⁴ The number of patristic commentaries on the Psalms which have been lost is astounding. To mention only a few, Serapion, Didymus the Blind, Cyril of Alexandria, Evagrius of Pontus and Eusebius are all known to have written on the Psalms but the works are no longer to be found.

⁵ According to A. Lang, *Evangelienkommentar*, 25, Bucer became aware of the problems of the Septuagint text of the Psalms from the works of Jerome, Hilary and other Church Fathers.

Origen, Ambrose, Augustine and John Chrysostom. He discusses each in turn¹. The commentary on Romans being published in 1536 comes from a new period in Bucer's ministry in which because of the attack of sectarian groups and his concern for the unity of the Church he has begun to have a greater appreciation for the Fathers. This does not mean, however, that only now, during his preparation of the commentary on Romans, has Bucer begun his study of the exegetical works of the Fathers. We hold it for more than probable that Bucer had between his first lecture on the Psalms in Heidelberg and his publication of the commentary on Romans in 1536 regularly and systematically studied the exegetical literature of the ancient Church.

3. Bucer's Knowledge of the Pastoral Literature of the Ancient Church

It was Bucer's knowledge of the pastoral literature of the ancient Church which seems to us to have been the most extensive. As the problems of church organization, government and discipline arose, Bucer turned frequently to the decrees of the councils of the ancient Church², the letters of Cyprian and Gregory the Great, and such pastoral writings as Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum* and the moral essays of Tertullian. With the aid of the church historians, Eusebius, Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret, and a knowledge of the legislation of the Christian emperors, Bucer sought to bring a fresh understanding of Christian antiquity which would help to re-establish the purity of the apostolic Church.

¹ Bucer's opinion of Origen is becoming more and more negative; he finds his work dangerous for the inexperienced. Ambrose, or better the Ambrosiaster, is too brief. Augustine is incomplete. Chrysostom is by far the best, although he is not aware of the problem of Pelagianism.

² Wendel tells us that Bucer used P. Crabbe's excellent edition *Concilia omnia* of 1538. Cf., the introduction to Wendel's edition of *De regno Christi*, in *Martini Bucer Opera auspiciis ordinis theologorum evangelicorum Argentiniensis edita* (Paris and Gütersloh, 1954), XV, xlvi, note 187. Before the *Concilia omnia* was available, Bucer may have had other sources. Cf., the section on Canon Law in the appendix to this chapter. Before 1538 he used Gratian considerably.

In the *Grund und Ursach* of 1525 we find that Bucer is already well acquainted with the works of Tertullian and Eusebius¹. For Tertullian he had the edition of his friend Beatus Rhenanus which appeared in 1521, and for Eusebius he had the Rhenanus edition of 1523. Again we feel that it would be a mistake to argue that Bucer had read only Tertullian and Eusebius on the subject simply because only works of these authors are explicitly quoted². It seems rather the case, as we have said for the commentaries, that it is only after about 1530-1535 that Bucer finds it useful to quote the Fathers.

Bucer's appeal to the Fathers in questions of pastoral theology is especially evident in his *Von der wahren Seelsorge und dem rechten Hirtendienst* of 1538. According to the editors of *Martin Bucers deutsche Schriften* this pastoral manual rests solidly on a study of the classical works on the pastoral office such as Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oratio apologetica* . . . quae sit sacerdotis professio, John Chrysostom's *De sacerdotio*, and Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*. The editors find the penitential writings of Tertullian, Cyprian and Ambrose equally important as sources of Bucer's work³. In the text itself we find the following patristic sources more or less explicitly mentioned: Ambrose, *De poenitentia* and *De virginitate*⁴, Augustine's commentary on Psalm 100, the letters of Augustine, the letters of Cyprian, the *Historia tripartita*⁵, the letters of Gregory the Great⁶, Chrysostom's homilies on Romans, Acts, and the *Pastoral Epistles*⁷ and finally Tertullian's *De Poenitentia*. These references indicate a wide reading in the Fathers, but a reading that has been well "digested," if one might use the word. Bucer has not just recently begun his study of patristic literature. He seems to have understood, at last, the

¹ For Tertullian cf., BDS, I, 217 and 239; for Eusebius see BDS, I, 173, note 59.

² One frequently detects the influence of Lactantius, e.g., BDS, I, 270.

³ We assume that the editors have in mind Tertullian's *De poenitentia*, Ambrose's *De poenitentia*, and Cyprian's *De Lapsis*.

⁴ This reference is not very clear. The editor suggests two possible works of Ambrose, *De virginitate* and *De virginibus*, as well as Cyprian's *De habitu virginum*.

⁵ BDS, VII, 115.

⁶ BDS, VII, 115 and 199-200. The Basel publisher, Herwagen, asked Bucer to prepare an edition of the works of Gregory the Great, a work which Bucer was anxious to undertake but was unfortunately unable to complete. (H. Eells, *Martin Bucer*, 278).

⁷ pp. 107, 127 and 195.

need for making his patristic references more explicit although it is not until later years that Bucer gives us completely satisfactory quotations from his sources¹.

4. The Patristic Testimonia in

Ein Summarischer vergriff

With the defeat of the Protestant forces by the armies of Charles V in 1547, the city of Strasbourg was forced to accept the terms of the Interim. Shortly before Bucer was banned from Strasbourg, he composed a short work summarizing the faith that had been taught and practiced by the Reformed Church of Strasbourg, *Ein Summarischer vergriff der Christlicher Lehre und Religion, die man zu Strasbourg hat nun in die xxviii. jar gelehret*. The work was published in Strasbourg in 1548 as the platform of Protestant resistance². It is characteristic of the literature of the Strasbourg Reformation that a major portion of the book is concerned with liturgical reform. The manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper is described. It was in this way we are told, that the apostles, the holy martyrs, the Fathers and the most ancient and apostolic churches had celebrated the sacrament. To support this claim Bucer quotes a list of passages from the Bible as well as a list from the works of the Fathers. The patristic passages are as follows: Cyprian, *Epistle to Cecilius* (LXIII); Justin Martyr, *Apology I*, 65-67; Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, IV, xvii-xviii;

¹ Needless to say, the standards of the sixteenth century in regard to quotation are not even remotely the same as those of today. Cf., L. Smits, *Saint Augustin dans l'oeuvre de Jean Calvin* (2 vols.; Assen, 1957-1958), I, 237-247. (Hereinafter referred to as *Augustin*). As time went on Bucer understood ever more the importance of making explicit and correct references to the Church Fathers. F. Wendel tells us that from 1540 on Bucer began compiling a notebook of testimonia from the patristic literature he read. By the time of his death his notebook had reached more than 500 pages. We hope this notebook will eventually be published. Cf., the introduction to Wendel's edition of *De regno Christi*, p. xlv, note 187.

² Wendel has given us an edition of the text with French translation, *Martin Bucer, Résumé sommaire de la doctrine chrétienne* (Paris, 1951). (Hereinafter referred to as *Summarischer vergriff*).

Dionysius, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, III; Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, IV; Chrysostom, 18th Homily on II Corinthians and 3rd Homily on Ephesians; Augustine, Epistle to Paulinus of Nola (CXLIX) and Gregory of Rome, Epistle to John of Syracuse (IX, xii)¹. This list of patristic sources for the Reformers' knowledge of the worship of the ancient Church is by far the most complete and systematic which we have found. Unfortunately, it comes six years after the publication of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 and almost twenty-five years after the first liturgical reforms made in Strasbourg. Our question is then, can we suggest that these passages were known to the Strasbourg Reformers at a period when the liturgy was still in a formative stage. With most of these passages there is no problem in assuming they had been well known to the Reformers for a long time. The passages from Cyprian, Dionysius, Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory had long been known to the liturgists of the Middle Ages². As early as 1528, Bullinger claimed the support of the passages from Irenaeus in his work attacking the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass³. Musculus had translated the sermons of Chrysostom into Latin in 1536. There is, therefore, no reason to believe that these passages were unknown to the Strasbourg Reformers in the more formative years of the liturgy. As our work proceeds, we shall give reason for believing that many of these passages did in fact exercise a formative influence on the liturgy of Strasbourg.

5. Bucer's Knowledge of Other Forms of Patristic Literature

Through a study of the exegetical and pastoral writings of Bucer, we have come to the conclusion that he knew the exegetical and pastoral literature of the ancient Church rather well. From the fact that he was a student of the

¹ Wendel, *Summarischer vergriff*, 55-59. We have listed the passages according to their modern numberings.

² Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 335-336; Jungmann, *MS*, II, 344-347, especially note 9 on page 345.

³ H. Bullinger, *De origine erroris*, fol. a2^v et a8^{r-v} et alia.

Wimpfeling school of Christian Humanism, we have already suggested that he knew the belles-lettres of the ancient Church from an early age. We have not found that Bucer had particularly occupied himself with the dogmatic literature of the ancient Church or with the apologetic literature of the ancient Church. The reason seems to be that Bucer was not greatly occupied by the questions treated by these types of literature.

Much of the apologetic literature of the ancient Church has been lost. This is not surprising because from the time the Church had overcome the classical religions of antiquity the relevance of this literature disappeared. Besides that, many of these writings, although interesting historically, were not particularly brilliant theology. The Middle Ages had tended to overlook this type of literature. It was for literary reasons that the Renaissance began to read the apologies of Lactantius, Tertullian and Minucius Felix, but the Reformers continued to read the apologists because they found in them an inspiring record of the moral earnestness and strong discipline of the pre-Constantinian Church.

The dogmatic literature of the ancient Church was another matter. Bucer, as the other Reformers, accepted the classical Trinitarian and Christological doctrines of the Church as questions which had been settled. If Servetus or Melchior Hoffmann raised questions about these doctrines, Bucer considered it enough simply to inform them that they were Arians, Sabellians, or Nestorians. It is interesting that these anti-Trinitarians did not challenge Bucer to re-think the classical Christology but rather to re-think the pastoral structure of the Church.

If Bucer himself had not been specially occupied with the apologetical and dogmatic writings of the ancient Church, this was perhaps compensated for by his colleague Kaspar Hedio in regard to the apologists, and his disciple John Calvin in regard to the dogmaticians. It is important that now we turn to a consideration of the patristic studies of some of the friends and colleagues of Bucer. We shall take up Kaspar Hedio, Wolfgang Capito, Jacques LeFèvre d'Étaples, and Wolfgang Musculus. It is only with a consideration of the patristic knowledge of these men that we can fully understand the scholarly environment out of which the liturgy of the Church of Strasbourg came.

E. THE PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE OF KASPAR HEDIO¹

Kaspar Hedio, sometimes called the first Protestant church historian, was a typical product of German Christian Humanism. He was born in 1494 in the town of Ettlingen in the province of Baden. He attended the Latin School of Pforzheim and then studied philosophy, history and languages at the University of Freiburg in Breisgau. In 1519, he became vicar of St. Theodore's Church in Basel where Johann Ulrich Surgant had exercised his brilliant ministry for so many years. At Basel, he was received with paternal affection by Wolfgang Capito and thus entered into the circle of Erasmus. As many of the other South German Reformers, Hedio enjoyed the position of an endowed preacher. Archbishop Albrecht von Brandenburg appointed him to the cathedral pulpit of Mainz in 1520. Three years later he was called to Strasbourg to occupy the pulpit made so famous by Geiler von Kaysersberg. His ministry of almost thirty years is remembered today in Strasbourg because of his great concern for the poor. He was among the first Protestants to advocate foreign missions, having suggested that the Turkish language be taught in Strasbourg in order that missionaries might be able to preach to the Mohammedans in their own language. While Bucer and Capito were often absent from the city on missions of ecclesiastical diplomacy, or embroiled in theological controversies, Hedio remained in Strasbourg and spent his time in preaching, scholarly research, and in encouraging works of charity. In addition to regularly lecturing on church history, he translated into German for the first time a group of patristic texts which are of the greatest possible interest to us.

In 1530, Hedio published *Chronica der alten christlichen Kirchen* which was a German translation of Eusebius, Rufinus, Sozomen, and Theodoret². To this had been added the *Apology of Tertullian*, the *Octavius*

¹ It is to be regretted that we do not have a recent study on Hedio. The best studies we have been able to discover are:

Charles Spindler, *Hédion. Essai biographique et littéraire* (Strasbourg, 1864);

RE, VII, 515-517;

J. Adam, "Versuch einer Bibliographie Casper Hedios," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, XXXI (1916), 424-429. (Hereinafter referred to as "Versuch").

² A curious feature of the work is that those histories which the translator regarded as legendary, such as the correspondence of Jesus with King Agbar of Edessa and the finding of the true cross by the Empress Helena, were relegated to an appendix.

of Minucius Felix, the *Ad Demetrianum* of Cyprian and the *Letter to Trajan* of Pliny¹. The works of Tertullian and Pliny are very important sources for the early history of the liturgy. It seems quite possible that one reason for selecting these works is what they teach us about the liturgy of the ancient Church. Surely another reason which led Hedio to select these works is the fact that a large portion of them make a point of attacking polytheism and idolatry. This is especially true of the *Apology* of Tertullian, the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix and the *Ad Demetrianum* of Cyprian. It might seem strange to us that it was precisely the Reformers who had a good humanist education who often seem most opposed to the use of pictures and statues in worship. The reason might well be that the Christian Humanists had been specially interested in Lactantius, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Tertullian and others because of the quality of their Latin. But as they studied these writers they began to find them interesting for another reason. All these writers were essentially ante-Nicene and therefore particularly occupied with the apology against idolatry and polytheism. To be sure, the Reformers opposed the liturgical use of images because of the authority of Scripture. Without doubt the renewed interest in Old Testament studies played an important role. However, it would seem clear that they were at least confirmed in their opinion by the knowledge that the ancient Church had not admitted a liturgical use of pictures and statues, anymore than ancient Israel. On this point the ante-Nicene apologists are especially clear.

Among the first patristic publications of Hedio's is a German translation of Tertullian's *Ad martyras* and *Ad Scapulam*². A few years thereafter Hedio must have published a German translation of Ambrosius' *De of-*

¹ There is also included a work on true Christian worship, which is attributed to Justin Martyr. The contribution of this work to the Reformation will be the subject of a forthcoming publication.

² Das buch Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani an die martyreren. Das buch Tertulliani an Scapulam Stetpfleger der statt Carthago, trans. by C. Hedio, (Strasbourg: n.n., 1529). This work, which we have discovered in the catalogue of the British Museum, seems to have escaped the bibliography of Johannes Adam.

ficiis ministrorum¹. This translation seems to have been published during the discussions over the establishing of a constitution for the Church of Strasbourg. The time was also marked by controversies with the Anabaptists. It is hard to imagine that Hedio's translation was unrelated to the practical problems of the Church of Strasbourg in 1530-1532.

Two years later Hedio published another collection of patristic texts in his *Augustins des heil'gen Bischofs, vier Bücher von christlicher Lehre, vom Geist und Buchstaben, vom Glauben und Werken*. The selection of these three works of Augustine is not without significance. The three writings enunciate in the words of Augustine the Strasbourg Reformers' plan for church renewal. This is particularly the case with the *De doctrina christiana* which greatly inspired the preaching ministry of the Reformed churches of the early sixteenth century.

In 1540, Hedio published in two great folio volumes the first German translations of any sizeable portions of the works of John Chrysostom, his sermons on Matthew and his sermons on John.¹ These two volumes are a beautiful example of the art of printing as it was exercised in Strasbourg in the early sixteenth century. The collection was received with such enthusiasm that the Elector of Brandenburg offered him the position of superintendent of the Church of Brandenburg, but Hedio preferred to remain in Strasbourg. If the *De doctrina christiana* was the homiletical text book of the early Reformers the sermons of John Chrysostom constituted their book of examples.²

We suggest that it was precisely the patristic works which had played a role in the reformation of the Church of Strasbourg which Hedio had chosen to translate. By this time he had broken with humanism. He was not publishing the texts of the ancients because of the humanists' concern for the purity of Latin or because of an interest in ecclesiastical antiquities. Hedio has publis-

¹Johannis Chrysostomi des Heyligen Ertzbischoffs zu Constantinople Auslegung über das Haupt Euangelion Sanct Johans, Zur auffbauung der Gemeynnden Gottes durch Teütschland, von Doctor Caspar Hedio verteütscht (Strasbourg: n. n., 1540).

Johannis Chrysostomi des Heyligen Ertzbischoffs zu Constantinople Ausslegung über die Euangelia Sancti Matthei und Sancti Johannis, Zur auffbauung der Kirchen Gottes in Teütschemlandt. Durch Doctor Caspar Hedio verteütscht (Strasbourg: Balthassar Beck, 1540).

²Although they fall after our period, three other translations of Hedio might be mentioned: a translation of Josephus published in 1546, the *De patientia* of Tertullian published in 1546, and a German translation of the history of the popes by Platina, published likewise in 1546.

hed the Church Fathers in German "for the advancement and building up of the Kingdom of God in Germany" as he tells us on the title pages of his editions of Chrysostom. He saw in the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian, Eusebius and the Byzantine church historians a reflection of the Church of the New Testament. What was for Hedio authoritative in the Church was the will of the Church's Lord as it was revealed in Holy Scripture. From the writings of John Chrysostom he learned of a Church which was much closer to the intention of its Lord than the Church of his experience. It was not that the Church of Constantinople was to be copied but rather that these churches were witnesses to obedience. The churches of antiquity were traveling companions who had already traveled the way that the Church of Strasbourg wanted to go in its pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem. The Church of Strasbourg was interested in the Church Fathers because it felt itself to be in their company, it felt itself to be "surrounded by a great cloud of witnesses."

F. THE PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE OF WOLFGANG CAPITO

When Luther so forcefully posed the question of reformation to the early sixteenth-century Church, Wolfgang Capito bore the responsibility of cathedral preacher in Basel. Erasmus regarded his ministry with high respect and claimed his friendship with uncommon warmth. With his three doctoral degrees in law, medicine and theology, he was an example of the universality of Renaissance learning; with his patrician family background he fulfilled the ideal of the leisurely gentleman scholar.

Capito's greatest contribution to the Reformation was the advancement of Old Testament studies. His Hebrew Psalter with instruction in the Hebrew Language was important for the revival of Old Testament studies¹. He produced a commentary on Habakkuk, a commentary on Hosea and a commentary on the creation narratives in Genesis. The last of these works is obviously modeled on two classical patristic texts, the Hexaemeron of Basil the Great and the Hexaemeron of Ambrose of Milan². Although in today's theological studies Old Testament and patristics are two widely separated disciplines, this was not at all the case in the time of Capito. For the Old Testament scholar of the Renaissance, as we have often had occasion to remark, the works of the Church Fathers were essential. The works of Chrysostom, and especially Origen and Jerome were carefully studied by the

¹ Cf., Baum, Capito und Butzer, 24-25. The work appeared in several installments. Sometime in 1516, there appeared the *Institutio in hebraicam literaturam*. This was an introduction to Hebrew grammar. Unfortunately, no copy has come down to us.

In November of the same year appeared the *Psalterium hebraicum cum Institutiuncula in linguam hebraicam*. This was a very handy manual for those who, not having the aid of a teacher, wished to learn Hebrew. One had the Psalms in Hebrew for practice and the rudiments of Hebrew grammar drawn from the earlier publication.

Finally, in 1518, Johannes Froben printed his completed Hebrew grammar, *Hebraicarum institutionum Libri duo*. This work enjoyed great popularity and was frequently reprinted.

² In *Habakuk prophetam Fabritii Capitonis enarrationes* (Strasbourg: Wolphium Cephalaeum, 1526).

In *Hoseam Prophetam V. F. Capitonis Commentarius* (Strasbourg: Joan. Hervagium, 1528).

Hexameron Dei opus explicatum a Vuolphgango Fa. Capitone Theologo (Strasbourg: Vuendelinum, 1539).

Old Testament scholar of the day. This was logical because Jerome and Origen lived in Palestine and John Chrysostom was a native of Syria. Jerome with his knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin was still ahead of the average sixteenth-century Old Testament scholar. We are, therefore, not at all surprised to find that Capito translated two short works of John Chrysostom, the one a sermon and the other an essay on the religious vocation, *Ad Theodorum lapsus*¹.

During his ministry in Basel, being on the very eve of the Reformation, Capito recognized the need of a reform of worship. Therefore he saw to the publication in August, 1517, of an explanation of the prayers and hymns of the mass by the Christian Humanist theologian Jodocus Clichtoveus². It had been first published two years earlier in Paris. He dedicated his edition to his bishop, Christoph von Utenheim, with the suggestion that he require the priests of his dioceses to study it. Adolf Franz has called this mass commentary of Clichtoveus the distinguished final example of the long tradition of medieval mass commentaries³.

However, it was from still another side of this remarkable Reformer that the Reformation was to be enriched with a knowledge of the ancient Church. As a student of law during the Renaissance, Capito was well versed in the legislation of the Christian emperors. Capito had been a student of the great professor of Roman law at the University of Freiburg, Ulrich Zasius. Undoubtedly, François Wendel is correct in suggesting that Capito is the source of Bucer's information on the legislation of the Christian emperors⁴.

¹ In 1519 Capito published two translations of works of John Chrysostom. The first was a sermon, the second a treatise on the monastic life:

Divi Joannis Chrysostomi Homilia de eo quod dixit Apostolos: Utinam tolerassetis paululum quidpiam insipientiae meae, trans. by Wolfgang Capito (Basel: Johannes Froben, 1519).

Paraenesis prior Divi Joh. Chrysostomi ad Theodorum lapsus, trans. by Wolfgang Capito (Basel: Johannes Froben, 1519).

² *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum, ad officium ecclesiae pertinentia planius exponens et quatuor libros complectens* (Basel: Johannes Froben, 1517). (Hereinafter referred to as *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum*).

³ Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 615-617.

⁴ Cf., Wendel's introduction to Bucer's *De regno Christi*, xlv.

G. THE PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE OF JACQUES LE FÈVRE

D'ETAPLES¹

Although the great French Christian Humanist Jacques LeFèvre d'Étaples was not a Reformer, he can be regarded as the teacher of a number of Reformers. We have already spoken of how Farel worked under LeFèvre in Meaux and how LeFèvre spent his exile as the house guest of Wolfgang Capito. His stay in the city of Strasbourg was at a time when the liturgy was still in a formative stage and so we consider his knowledge of the Church Fathers important.

What is noteworthy about LeFèvre's knowledge of the Fathers is that he is concerned with a group of Fathers markedly different from those who were of interest to the circle of Erasmus. In 1498, LeFèvre edited what might be regarded as the first edition of the Apostolic Fathers². The work contained first of all the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, whom evidently LeFèvre considered to be the Athenian disciple of the Apostle Paul. Secondly, we find eleven letters from Ignatius of Antioch. Contemporary editions of Ignatius include only seven³. The Epistle of Polycarp is included in the collection although The Martyrdom of Polycarp is not. In 1513, LeFèvre added yet another work often included in contemporary editions of the Apostolic Fathers, The Shepherd of Hermas. The text which LeFèvre edited is

¹ In addition to the works already mentioned in chapter I we found the following studies most helpful:

A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)* (2nd. ed.; Paris, 1953), 368-369 et passim. (Hereinafter referred to as *Préréforme et humanisme*).

Eugene F. Rice, Jr., "The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity: LeFèvre d'Étaples and his Circle," *French Humanism, 1470-1600*, ed. by L. Gundersheimer (London, 1969).

² On LeFèvre's concept of Apostolic Fathers see A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme*, 374-378 and Rice, "The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity," 173-174.

³ The text which LeFèvre gives is the Latin version of the so-called "longer recension." This interesting combination of genuine and forged documents made the works of Ignatius a subject of scepticism until the last century when Zahn, Harnack and Lightfoot championed the case of the Ignatian letters. For the history of the text of the genuine as well as the spurious letters of Ignatius, see Bardenhewer, *Altkirchliche Literatur*, I, 125-141.

the old Latin version referred to as "the Vulgate"¹. The work is specially interesting in regard to the penitential discipline of the ancient Church. From this it would seem that the sixteenth century had a most unfortunate collection of the Apostolic Fathers. The Didaché, Barnabas, and Clement of Rome were not included². The great bulk of the collection, the Pseudo-Dionysion literature, together with four of the letters attributed to Ignatius were forgeries.

Another Church Father whom LeFèvre found interesting was John of Damascus. In 1507, he provided a translation of *De fide orthodoxa* for the publishing house of Henry Stephanus³. It would be interesting to know what the translator of John of Damascus, who so highly developed the theology of icons, might have said to the Strasbourg Reformers about their removing pictures and statues from the churches. In 1511, LeFèvre edited a collection of the letters of Pope Leo the Great, and in 1520 he edited the works of Basil the Great. Up to the present we have not discovered that LeFèvre ever edited any major exegetical writings of the Fathers. This is interesting in light of the fact that in later life he devoted himself to exegetical research. Today he is known above all for having produced the first French Bible.

¹ According to Bardenhewer, the Latin version published by LeFèvre dates from as early as the second century. It is only recently that the Greek text has been recovered. Further details on the history of the text are to be found in Bardenhewer, *Altkirchliche Literatur*, I, 557-561.

² On LeFèvre's publication of a collection of some spurious letters of Clement of Rome, Cf., Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme*, 421-422.

³ The four-fold division of the *De fide orthodoxa* in which the 1507 edition is divided was traditional in the West from the time of Peter Lombard. Cf., Altaner, *Patrology*, 636.

H. THE PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE OF WOLFGANG MUSCULUS¹

Wolfgang Musculus was one of the most important patristic scholars of the Reformation. Until he was thirty years old he had been a Benedictine monk at Lixheim. In 1527, he went over to the Reformation and worked with Hedio, Capito and Bucer in Strasbourg. In 1531, Bucer recommended him for the position of pastor of the Church of Augsburg. Being pastor of Germany's leading city did not, however, keep him from scholarly activities. In 1536, he published a Latin translation of John Chrysostom's homilies on the Pauline Epistles. Although today these sermons are commonly regarded as Chrysostom's greatest exegetical achievement, this work had not as yet been translated into Latin. The thick folio-volume published by Herwagen at Basel in 1536 added materially to the Reformation's knowledge of the works of John Chrysostom.

In 1540, Wolfgang Musculus edited what might be regarded as the first reasonably complete Latin edition of the works of Basil the Great². The gathering together and translating of the works of the great Capadocian theologian occupied sixteenth-century patristic scholars for a number of decades. A comparatively small collection of Latin translations appeared in Rome in 1515. This was followed by an edition in Paris in 1520 and an edition in Cologne in 1523. These editions contained not much more than the sermons, his dogmatic writings *Against Eunomius* and *On the Holy Spirit* and Rufinus' translation of his monastic rule. In 1528, Opsopæus, who would shortly become one of the organizers of the Reformation in Ansbach, published a collection of Basil's letters. Budé, Erasmus and Oecolampadius all tried their hand at translating into Latin some part of the works of one of the masters of Greek literature. In 1540, Musculus added to this growing collection his own translation of the *Ascetica* and *Moralia* and with this the great mass of the works of Basil was at last known to the Western Church. There were, of course, several works in the collection which did not come from Basil, notably books IV and V of the *Against Eunomius*. It is now recognized that

¹ RE, XIII, 581-585.

² In the same year, Froben published Janus Cornarius' edition of Basil. The Preface of this edition is dated March 20, 1540, while the preface of Musculus' edition is dated December 24, 1539.

they come from Didymus the Blind. Especially interesting for our study is that the Liturgy of St. Basil is not included¹.

In 1546, Musculus published a four-volume edition of the works of Cyril of Alexandria. Like his edition of Basil, this new edition made much of Cyril of Alexandria's writing available to the Western Church for the first time. With the coming of the Interim, Musculus was turned out of Augsburg. With his large family he took refuge in Zurich and then received a post in Bern where he continued his patristic studies. Both his pastoral and patristic activities in Bern were appreciated by Calvin with whom Musculus remained in correspondence for some years. In 1549, he published a new edition of the Byzantine ecclesiastical histories and in 1550 an edition of the Greek text of the works of Gregory of Nazianzus. These last three publications are, of course, after the period which interests us. We mention them, however, because they give us the full picture of a man who did much to provide the Reformation with a knowledge of the Eastern Church Fathers.

¹ We might mention in passing the extremely interesting preface which Musculus has written for his edition of Basil. The Reformer makes it clear that what he found profitable in the works of Basil was his asceticism. It is unfortunate that modern Protestant church historians are so unwilling to admit this aspect of their tradition.

I. THE PATRISTIC KNOWLEDGE OF JOHN CALVIN

1. Calvin's Claim to a Knowledge of the Fathers

When Calvin wrote into the title of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 that the Reformed liturgy was according to the custom of the ancient Church, it was not the first time that he had claimed that the Reformation was true to the most ancient traditions of the Church.

In the dedicatory epistle to the Institutes of 1536, Calvin briefly investigates some of the leading charges against the Protestants. He singles out the charge that the Reformers were opposed to the Church Fathers. Calvin answers,

Moreover, they unjustly set the ancient fathers against us (I mean the ancient writers of a better age of the church) as if in them they had supporters of their own impiety. If the contest were to be determined by patristic authority, the tide of victory -- to put it very modestly -- would turn to our side. Now, these fathers have written many wise and excellent things. Still, what commonly happens to men has befallen them too, in some instances. For these so-called pious children of theirs, with all their sharpness of wit and judgment and spirit, worship only the faults and errors of the fathers. The good things that these fathers have written they either do not notice, or misrepresent or pervert. You might say that their only care is to gather dung amid gold. Then, with a frightful to-do, they overwhelm us as despisers and adversaries of the fathers! But we do not despise them; in fact, if it were to our present purpose, I could with no trouble at all prove that the greater part of what we are saying today meets their approval. Yet we are so versed in their writings as to remember always that all things are ours (I Cor. 3:21-22), to serve us, not to lord it over us (Luke 22:24-25), and that we all belong to the one Christ (I Cor. 3:23), whom we must obey in all things without exception (cf., Col. 3:20). He who does not observe this distinction will have nothing certain in religion, inasmuch as these holy men were ignorant of many things, often disagreed among themselves, and sometimes even contradicted themselves¹.

Calvin goes on to say that, in fact, many of the practices of the Roman Church were themselves in contradiction to the practice of the ancient Church.

¹ J. Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, vol. XX in The Library of Christian Classics edition, trans. by Ford Lewis Battles (2 vols.; Philadelphia: n.d.), Prefatory Address 4, 18-19. (Hereinafter referred to as LCC XX). All English quotations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from this edition.

The Fathers like the Reformers had opposed luxurious worship. There were also Fathers who forbade the painting of images of Christ and the saints on the walls of the church. Fathers had spoken against withholding the cup from the faithful, making laws for fasting and requiring celibacy for priests. The list of subjects treated sounds very similar to the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*. The critique which Calvin mentions is the Reformed critique, not the Lutheran critique. Calvin has evidently studied these points and the patristic evidence offered in their support and finds the arguments correct. This list of criticisms did not originate with Calvin and consequently we imagine that the passages of patristic literature cited were not collected by Calvin himself but rather taken over by him from "the tradition" of the Reformed Church. Calvin's claim reflects his confidence in the patristic knowledge of the older Reformers, such as Bucer, Capito, Simon Grynaeus, Oecolampadius and Melancthon, more than his own reading.

It is another matter, however, when Calvin appears a year later at the Dispute of Lausanne. Once again the argument is put that the Protestants may know the Bible very well and be able to find support for their "new doctrines" there but they do not know the Church Fathers nor can they find support for their positions in the writings of the early Church. Calvin, who up to this time had not entered into the debate, asked to be allowed to answer the charge. The young theologian made a similar defense, claiming that the Reformers did indeed know the Fathers and that they had given long study to their works. Calvin then began to quote Augustine, Chrysostom, Eusebius and Tertullian in support of the Reformation. His ability in quoting spontaneously a large number of patristic passages proved to be a convincing reply to the charge¹.

Once again in 1539, Calvin replies to the same charge in his Letter to Sadolet. The abuses which have crept into the Roman Church under the leadership of the papacy can hardly claim the support of the primitive Church. The Reformers, Calvin assures the learned cardinal, have no other desire than to return the Church to its apostolic purity, a purity which it still largely

¹ CR, XXXVII, 877-884.

enjoyed in the days of Chrysostom and Basil in the East and Cyprian, Ambrose and Augustine in the West¹.

Unfortunately, the scope of this study does not include a consideration of the question of how much authority the Reformers gave to the writing of the Fathers, nor can we enter into a prolonged investigation of the traditional question of "Scripture and Tradition." We would, however, like very briefly to mention that from this passage one sees very clearly, as well as in the dedicatory epistle, that Calvin has not posed the question in such a way that Tradition and Scripture are put over against one another. The Fathers have authority for Calvin because they witness to the purity of the apostolic Church. The Reformers accepted the Fathers as fellow witnesses and fellow servants of the Word. They were anxious that the servants of the Word not be confused with the Word itself. They understood themselves and their teaching to be under God's judgment. It was the same way with the writings of the Fathers. They were under God's judgment and Calvin believed that, in the judgment of God, Augustine, Cyprian, Basil and Chrysostom had rendered a faithful witness. It was as witnesses to the purity of the Gospel, to the true discipline of the Church and to the glory of God that Calvin had studied the writings of the Fathers².

¹ "Scis hoc, Sadolete, et, si infitiri pergis, faciam ut te scivisse ac callide vafreque dissimulasse omnes intelligant: non modo longe meliorem nobis cum antiquitate consensionem esse quam vobis, sed nihil aliud conari quam ut instauretur aliquando vestusta illa ecclesiae facies, quae primo ab hominibus indoctis, et non optimis, deformata et foedata, postea a pontifice romano et eius factione flagitiose lacerata et prope deleta est. Non adeo te praecise urgebo, ut revocem ad illam ecclesiae formam, quam apostoli constituerunt: in qua tamen unicum habemus verae ecclesiae exemplar a quo si quis vel minimum deflectit, aberrat. Sed ut eatenus tibi indulgeam, statue, quaeso, tibi ob oculos veterem illam ecclesiae faciem, qualem Chrysostomi et Basilii aetate apud Graecos, Cypriani, Ambrosii, Augustini saeculo apud Latinos exstitisse, ipsorum monumenta fidem faciunt: postea ruinas, quae apud vos ex illa supersunt, contemplantur." OS, I, 466.

² On the question of the authority Calvin recognized in the Church Fathers, see the perceptive and precise study of Jan Koopmans, *Das altkirchliche Dogma in der Reformation*, trans. from the Dutch by H. Quistorp (Munich, 1655), especially pp. 36-43 (hereinafter referred to as *Dogma*), as well as the following: P. Polman, *L'Elément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle* (Gembloux, 1932);

M. Réveillaud, "L'Autorité de la tradition chez Calvin," *La revue réformée* (1958), part 2, 24-45;

F. Wendel, *Calvin, the Origins and Development of his Thought*, trans. by P. Mairet (New York, 1963), 123-126. (Hereinafter referred to as *Calvin*).

2. Calvin's Knowledge of the Fathers 1534-1542

a) Studies in France¹

What Calvin may have learned about the Church Fathers in his studies in the Collège Montigue or in his studies in the various French universities as he travelled from one to the other, is a matter of speculation. We can assume that he had picked up a conversational knowledge at least of the favorite Fathers of the late medieval theology, the four doctors of the Western Church, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory and Ambrose². Perhaps under the influence of more humanist-inclined professors he had read some of the ancient Christian authors who were prized more for the excellence of their Latin than the perception of their theology, such as Lactantius and Prudentius. On this matter, however, we cannot speak with certainty.

It was shortly after Calvin had become involved in the Reformation that having to leave Paris, he spent some time in Angoulême at the home of one of his friends Louis du Tillet. The home had an excellent library and it was perhaps there that he wrote his *Psychopannychia*³, Calvin's first theological essay⁴. As in all the works of Calvin, Augustine is referred to frequently⁵. After Augustine, John Chrysostom seems the Christian author most likely to have been studied. The quotations are limited to those of his works which we might expect to have been the first read by a young man inspired by

¹ A. Ganoczy, *Le jeune Calvin, Genèse et évolution de sa vocation réformatrice* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 23-83. (Hereinafter referred to as *Le jeune Calvin*).

² Wendel, Calvin, 19.

³ Doumergue, Jean Calvin, I, 370. In fact, the library of the du Tillet family was astoundingly large for that period. Jean du Tillet, the brother of Louis, was a bibliophile of note and had a large collection of manuscripts.

⁴ Unfortunately, the first edition which has come down to us is that of 1545. How much Calvin might have revised it in the intervening eight years we cannot say. Therefore, it is not clear whether the patristic reading reflected by the work is that of 1534 or of a later period. For the problems of textual criticism involved in the *Psychopannychia* see the edition by Walter Zimmerli (Leipzig, 1932), 6-14.

⁵ Since the subject of Calvin's knowledge and use of Augustine has been definitively studied by Smits, Augustin, we have given our major attention throughout to other patristic writers.

the Reformation¹. Three or four passages of Chrysostom's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew have been mentioned, one passage from the commentary on Hebrews and a passage from *Ad Theodorum lapsum*. Three passages from Irenaeus of Lyon's *Adversus haereses* and three passages from various works of Tertullian would seem to indicate that Calvin had recently read the two authors which shortly before had been given their first edition in Basel by Erasmus and Beatus Rhenanus. Two passages from each of the following works are mentioned: the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, the commentary on the Gospel of John by Cyril of Alexandria, Hilary of Poitiers' sermons on the Psalms and Jerome's sermons on Isaiah. Three works are mentioned a single time, Basil the Great's *Hexaemeron*, Ambrose of Milan's *Hexaemeron* and Origen's *Homilies on Ezekiel*. We find no reason to doubt that these quotations come from Calvin's own reading. In the first place, most of the references come from works which had recently been published in Basel by Erasmus and his circle, such as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Eusebius and Hilary. In the second place, a good portion of the references are to the exegetical writings of the Fathers, a class of patristic literature which the Reformers found especially interesting².

b) Studies in Basel³

Having fled France, Calvin arrived in Basel in the beginning of 1535 to spend a year of quiet study. Calvin probably had spent the greater part of the time in the exegetical study of Scripture under the direction of Simon Grynaeus, professor of New Testament at the University of Basel, and Sebastian Münster, one of the most renowned Hebraists of his time. At the end of the year, he also seems to have been acquainted with the principal works of Luther, Bucer,

¹ Cf., Ganoczy, *Le jeune Calvin*, 74.

² There is no problem in suggesting that all these works were already in the family library of the family du Tillet, but for our broader purposes it makes no difference whether this reflects his reading in the du Tillet home, in Basel the following year or later in Strasbourg.

³ P. Wernle, *Calvin und Basel bis zum Tode Myconius* (Tübingen, 1909), 3-8. Ganoczy, *Le jeune Calvin*, 83-97.

Oecolampadius and Melanchthon. We would like to suggest that it was in this same year, particularly in connection with his exegetical studies, that Calvin read many of the exegetical writings of the Fathers. In those days no city in Europe was better suited for such a study.

The first edition of the Institutes was finished in Basel during the year 1536, although much of it may have been written in Augoulême. Only certain sections contain patristic references. The great majority of these have been taken from Gratian's Decretials and Peter Lombard's Sentences. Aside from these two standard collections of the sayings of the Fathers, we find a number of references to Augustine, Cyprian and the church historians¹. We believe we can say with some certainty that by this time Calvin had read Eusebius and Cassiodorus. We find two passages which indicate that Calvin has read the Erasmus edition of Cyprian². His knowledge of Augustine is not yet extensive, although he has read some of his more important works such as the commentary on the Gospel of John and the Epistles.

It was probably at the end of this year of study that Calvin wrote a preface to an edition of the works of John Chrysostom. Unfortunately, his plans for the edition never materialized³. From this preface we learn that Calvin considered Chrysostom the greatest exegete of either the Greek or Latin Church. As a systematic theologian, Calvin preferred Augustine, but as an exegete he considered Chrysostom unsurpassed. Origen obscures the simplicity of Scripture with his constant allegories. Athanasius, Basil and Gregory of Naziansus were, of course, great theologians but since they have left us no extensive series of sermons or commentaries we cannot judge them as great exegetes. The rhetoric of the two Capadocian Fathers Calvin finds too "declamatory,"

¹ Of the more or less specific quotations we find 42 taken from Lombard, 42 taken from Gratian, 25 taken from Augustine, 8 from the church historians and 7 from Cyprian.

² OS, I, 152 and 214.

³ We have never heard discussed just what sermons or works of John Chrysostom Calvin planned to publish. Since his complete works are very extensive, we doubt that it is a complete edition that Calvin has in mind. Perhaps since in 1535 the sermons on the Epistles of Paul remained yet to be published, one of Basel's publishers had tried to get Calvin to furnish him with a translation of the Greek text recently published in Verona. Perhaps his decision not to publish the translations was influenced by the discovery that Musculus was already well advanced in translating the same work.

as much as it may have been admired by the usual humanist. Cyril of Alexandria is called a "truly admirable" exegete and is given a place next to Chrysostom. As for the Western Fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian have not left us commentaries. Calvin finds that the commentaries of Hilary of Poitiers lack clarity. He has the same opinion about the Old Testament commentaries of Jerome, which, he tells us, are not too well received among learned men. This is largely due to his use of allegorical exegesis. His commentaries on Matthew and the two epistles of Paul are tolerable¹. The commentaries of Ambrose, Calvin finds brief, to the point, clear and correct. The compliment is more fitting for the Ambrosiaster than for Ambrose, and we can assume that it is indeed the Ambrosiaster's commentary on the Pauline Epistles which Calvin has in mind. If this is the case, it is a most interesting remark. Today the Ambrosiaster is recognized as the best witness to the older Roman understanding of Pauline theology².

¹ Jerome wrote commentaries on four of Paul's epistles: Philippians, Galatians, Ephesians and Titus. We are not sure how to account for this slip.

² "Inter Graecos nemo ante ipsum nec etiam eius saeculo fuit, cuius monumenta hodie exstant, praeter Origenem, Athanasium, Basilium ac Gregorium, Atqui Origenes perpetuis allegoriis scripturae sinceritatem valde obscurat. Cum his nulla contentio esse potest, quod nullae eorum habentur perpetuae enarrationes quae cum istius enarrationibus conferantur. Atque ex pauculis quae supersunt coniecturam facere licet, duos postremos ad declamationes fuisse magis natos quam ad didacticam scribendi rationem. Ex iis qui proxime sequuti sunt aetatem illam, primus est Cyrillus, egregius sane interpret, et qui inter Graecos secundus a Chrysostomo numerari queat, non tamen cum ipso certare. Theophylactus aliunde aestimari nequit melius, quam quod nihil habet laude dignum quod non a Chrysostomo sumpserit. Plures recensere nihil opus est, de quibus controversia esse nulla potest.

"Quantum ad Latinos attinet, Tertulliani, Cypriani labores istius generis exciderunt. Nec Hilarii multa habentur. Commentarii in Psalterium parum ad intelligendam prophetarum mentem faciunt. Canones in Matthaeum plus quidem momenti habent. Sed illic quoque deest praecipua interpretis virtus, perspicuitas. Quae in vetus testamentum scripsit Hieronymus merito exiguum laudem inter doctos habent. Est enim totus fere in allegoriis demersus, quibus nimium licentiose scripturam contorquet. Commentarii in evangelium Matthaei et duas Pauli epistolas tolerabiles, nisi quod hominem non satis in rebus ecclesiasticis exercitatum sapiunt. Melior ac uberior ipso Ambrosius, tametsi verbis brevissimus est, nec ullus est post Chrysostomum qui propius ad scripturae sinceritatem accedat. Quod si tanta doctrina praeditus fuisset quantum et ingenii acumine et iudicio et dexteritate praestabat, in scripturae expositione primus forte nominaretur. Augustinus citra controversiam in fidei dogmatibus omnes superat. Religiosus quoque imprimis scripturae interpret, sed ultra modum argutus. Quo fit ut minus firmus sit ac solidus.

"Chrysostomi autem nostri haec prima laus est quod ubique illi summo studio fuit a germana scripturae sinceritate ne minimum quidem deflectere, ac nullam sibi licentiam sumere in simplici verborum."

This passage, as brief as it is, gives us several good hints into Calvin's patristic knowledge at the time. We can assume that Calvin had a good knowledge of Chrysostom. We imagine that he had read at least some of these works in the Greek text because the edition which he plans to make is an edition of his translations. Almost certainly he had studied Cyril of Alexandria's commentary on the Gospel of John, a long dogmatic exposition much on the order of Karl Barth's Römerbrief. In this commentary Cyril sets out by an exegesis of the Gospel of John to refute the Christological and Trinitarian heresies of his century¹. Cyril produced a great number of commentaries. Among those that have come down to us today are those on Matthew, Luke, the Glaphyra, a commentary on the Pentateuch, The Adoration and Worship of God in Spirit and Truth, an allegorical typological exegesis of selected liturgical passages of the Pentateuch, a commentary on the Minor Prophets, and a commentary on Isaiah. None of these works were included in the editions of the sixteenth century, except for the first book of the Adoration and Worship of God in Spirit and Truth, mentioned above. In most of the editions of the sixteenth century, however, there appeared a commentary on Leviticus in sixteen books. The Oecolampadius edition of Cyril, published in 1528, suggests that this commentary may come from Origen. Calvin must have based his opinion on the Johannine commentary alone. If he had known Cyril's other commentaries, filled as they are with the traditional allegories of Alexandrian exegesis, he would have been more hesitating in his admiration. Hilary of Poitiers seems to have been studied by Calvin at an early stage in his work. The two commentaries mentioned by Calvin, that on the Psalms and that on the Gospel of Matthew, had been published in the volume of the complete works of Hilary of Poitiers by Erasmus in 1523. How much Calvin knows of the voluminous works of Jerome is not clear at this point. His statement only says that other men do not have a good opinion of his Old Testament commentaries. On the New Testament commentaries he gives his own judgment, however. We can assume that he had read the commentary on the Gospel of Matthew and perhaps his commentaries on the Epistles of Paul. We are not too sure just how much of Ambrose Calvin has read. The Erasmus edition of 1527 offers a large collection of his works, including the Pauline commentaries attributed to the Ambrosiaster. We think that by this time Calvin has read some of

¹ We remember that this work is quoted in the *Psychopannychia*.

Ambrose's exegetical works but that he has read with more interest his "ethical" writings such as *De officiis ministrorum* and *De paenitentia*¹. As for the rest -- Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Athanasius², Tertullian, Cyprian -- that is, those who have not left us exegetical commentaries, we hesitate to speak at this point.

c) The 1539 Edition of the Institutes

This second edition of the *Institutes* was ready for publication a short time after Calvin arrived in Strasbourg in September of 1538. It reflects two major fields of interest in the theology of Calvin. The first of these interests is the classical Trinitarian and Christological dogmas of the Church. This interest was aroused by the accusation of Petrus Caroli that Calvin was an Arian. The controversy, which lasted between February and June of 1537, stimulated Calvin to read carefully the principal writing of the ancient Church on the question. The appropriate works for Calvin to read would have been Augustine's *De Trinitate*, Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses*, Basil the Great's *Adversus Eunomius* and *De Spiritu Sancto*, Gregory of Nazianzus' *Theological Orations*, Gregory of Nyssa's *Oratio catechetica magna*, Athanasius' *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi* and *Tres Orationes contra Arianos*, the major part of the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, Hilary of Poitiers' *De Trinitate* and *De synodis*

¹ The Erasmus edition of the works of Ambrose presents a very confusing picture of Ambrose as an exegete. The *Hexaemeron* is a rather sober non-allegorical exegesis being based on Basil the Great. A number of other sermons from Genesis follow the general line of Alexandrian exegesis as does the commentary on Luke. The Ambrosiaster's commentaries on Paul, however, are quite far removed from allegorical interpretation. Cf., O. Bardenhever, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, III, 520-522.

² Most of the editions of Athanasius published in the beginning of the sixteenth century contained the commentaries of Theophylactus of Bulgaria. These pseudo-Athanasian commentaries fill the greater part of the volume. Consequently, the volumes are often marked "Works of Theophylactus." Calvin seems to have known enough about the critical problems involved to have separated Theophylactus from Athanasius.

as well as the accounts of the dogmatic controversies of the ancient Church in Eusebius and the Byzantine church historians.

As a matter of fact, a good number of these works are quoted in the appropriate chapters of the Institutes of 1539. Augustine, Jerome, Hilary of Poitiers and the Byzantine church historians seem to have been restudied in regard to the question¹. Cyril of Alexandria has been especially influential. Calvin quotes three of Cyril's major dogmatic works, *De sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate*, *Thesaurus de sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate* and *De recta fide*². There is a single quotation of the Greek text of Gregory of Naziansus' *In sanctum baptismum*, which while it is not one of his famous Theological Orations, is an important work on the doctrine of the Trinity³. The absence of any reference to either Athanasius or Gregory of Nyssa is noteworthy and may indicate that Calvin had not yet read these two theologians. We are surprised, however, that Irenaeus is not mentioned since his name had been brought early into the controversy between Servetus and the Protestants. Servetus had appealed to Tertullian and Irenaeus in support of his views against the doctrine of the Trinity. Oecolampadius quoted six passages from *Adversus haereses* III and IV to show that Servetus could not claim the support of Irenaeus⁴. In the *Psychopannychia* Calvin had quoted Irenaeus three times. In the Institutes of 1560, Calvin quotes Irenaeus profusely⁵. The selection of authors read in regard to this question probably reflects the fact that the libraries of Geneva in 1537 were not to be compared to those of Basel. One thing is certain, the study of the classical dogma of the fourth and fifth centuries stimulated by Caroli had a profound influence on the theological development of Calvin⁶.

¹ OS, III, 114-115.

² OS, III, 133, 152; CR, IX, 708-709. From the selection of works quoted we know that Calvin has studied the three volumes of the works of Cyril of Alexandria edited by Oecolampadius in 1528. In this edition, Oecolampadius made many works of Cyril available for the first time by his Latin translations; for example, the *De recta fide* and the *Adversus libros athei Iuliani*.

³ OS, III, 131; see also 246.

⁴ Oek. Br. und Ak., II, 475-476, number 766.

⁵ Inst. I, xiii, 27; II, vi, 4 and II, xiv, 7.

⁶ On Calvin's use of the Church Fathers in his controversy with Caroli see Koopman, *Dogma*, 55-56 and 67-69.

The second important theological theme which begins to find elaboration in the Institutes of 1539 is that of predestination and free will. For this subject it was necessary to study a completely different group of patristic works. As one would expect, Calvin's interest in this subject has led him to a careful study of Augustine's many writings on the subject. Undoubtedly, Calvin has found Jerome's anti-Pelagian writings more helpful than his exegetical works. Eucherius of Lyon, the fifth-century Father whose book, *Formulae spiritualis intelligentiae*, is mainly concerned with special questions of allegorical exegesis, has at least been consulted if not carefully studied. According to Calvin, the Eastern Fathers have never given proper attention to the subject, but when they have treated the subject they have often treated it badly. Calvin makes no secret of his disappointment with the Greek theologians in the matter¹. In this passage Calvin mentions Chrysostom by name and quotes a passage from Origen's *De principiis*². He also may have read Gregory of Nazianzus in regard to this question³. Calvin knew the Greek Fathers well enough to know that he could not honestly call them to his side in his controversy against Renaissance humanism⁴. It is a witness to the honesty with which Calvin read the literature of the ancient Church that he did not try to force them into his "system."

d) Commentary on Romans

Calvin's three-year pastorate of the French Church in Strasbourg was happy and peaceful. It gave him an opportunity to continue his studies in a city of rich theological culture. His association with Bucer, Capito, Hedio and

¹ Inst. II, ii, 4.

² OS, III, 346; see also 269-270.

³ OS, III, 246, 260-270.

⁴ The humanism of the Renaissance tried, by its denial of predestination, to put man's destiny in his own hands. Calvin knew that the question posed by the Renaissance, as by Pelagius in antiquity, had never really been discussed in the East. Calvin was confident that if the problem had been raised in the East, the Greek Fathers would have been more guarded in their statements. Calvin could, of course, have found proof texts from the Greek Fathers to support his position. Surely Calvin knew the passage in Augustine's *Contra Iulianum* I, 27, where Augustine tries to show that John Chrysostom was not a Pelagian. The passages which Augustine quotes are from Chrysostom's tenth homily on Romans. (Cf., Quasten, *Patrology*, III, 442). What Calvin may have known from Chrysostom's *De providencia* we cannot say at this point.

Jean Sturm kept him in contact with the world of scholarship as well as introducing him to the political aspects of the Reformation and the problems of organizing a Christian community, but since the responsibilities were on the shoulders of the older Reformers, Calvin still had time to study. It was therefore as a result of Calvin's lectures in Sturm's academy that in October of 1539 Calvin published the first of this long series of commentaries, his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. When one compares this commentary to Bucer's commentary on Romans¹ or the Annotations on Romans of Erasmus² one is impressed by the sobriety of Calvin's patristic quotations. Bucer usually discusses the patristic commentaries on Romans in a special section for each passage. Erasmus is even more profuse in his references to the wide variety of patristic interpretation and the variant readings of text. Calvin, however, is not dependent on the quotations of Bucer and Erasmus for his knowledge of the patristic commentaries. We are convinced that while writing his commentary, Calvin had on his desk the most important patristic commentaries on Romans, those of the Ambrosiaster³, Origen, Chrysostom and Augustine's *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos* and *Epistola ad Romanos inchoata expositio*⁴, which he consulted continuously in his study of Paul's letter⁵.

The commentary on Romans gives us an opportunity to study something of the method of quotation used by Calvin⁶. As we have said, it seems likely

¹ M. Bucer, *Metaphrases et enarrationes perpetuae epistularum D. Pauli Apostoli . . . Tomus primus continens metaphrasim et enarrationem in Epistolam ad Romanos* (Strasbourg, 1536).

² Erasmus of Rotterdam, *In novum testamentum annotationes* in *Omnia Opera*, ed. by J. Clericus (10 vols.; Amsterdam, 1703-1706), VI, 547-656.

³ It was, of course, Erasmus who first raised the question of the authorship of the commentaries on the epistles of Paul which were in the Middle Ages ascribed to Ambrose, and it was he who coined the term "the Ambrosiaster." Nevertheless, he himself in his *Annotations* still speaks of "Ambrose." We can assume that Calvin was aware of the problem and that he followed the same practice.

⁴ Cf., Smits, *Augustin*, II, 241.

⁵ Calvin did not have the commentaries of the following fathers: Ephraem of Syria, Theodoret of Cyrus, Pelagius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

⁶ This study has been greatly facilitated by *Commentaires de Jean Calvin sur le Nouveau Testament*, IV, published by La société calviniste de France (Geneva, 1960), which has taken special pains to search out the patristic quotations as well as the allusions. We understand that this aspect of the work was undertaken by Michel Réveillaud.

that Calvin has used the commentaries of Ambrosiaster, Origen, Chrysostom and Augustine as exegetical aids¹. Réveillaud identifies seven places where Calvin speaks of an interpretation of the Ambrosiaster. Only in the first of these is he named. In five of the others Calvin simply takes issue with the position of "certain interpreters." Calvin's quotations are obviously not made in an attempt to display his patristic erudition. Réveillaud identifies six references to Origen, in only four he is named. In one passage, Calvin is in agreement with Origen and in another not. In comparing the passages in which Origen is directly or indirectly mentioned to the corresponding passages in the commentaries of Bucer and Erasmus we get the impression that Calvin deliberately avoids discussing the same patristic passages that Bucer or Erasmus have discussed. Even more than that, Calvin has no wish to use the quotations as Erasmus does when he piles up "dicta" and "scripta" like the tessera of a complicated mosaic. There are only four references to Chrysostom's sermons on Romans. This is especially noteworthy because the text had only recently been made available to the Western world and Calvin could have been among the first to discuss its treasures. We take this as evidence of the reserve and modesty of Calvin's quotations. There are also quotations from Lactantius' *Divinae institutiones*, a work which belonged to the standard education of Christian Humanists who revered the ante-Nicene writer as the Christian Cicero. Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel* is also mentioned. The two are mentioned in connection with the text of Romans 1:23 where the Apostle Paul reproaches the pagans for worshiping images of animals and reptiles. These two ante-Nicene apologetical writings do, as a matter of fact, offer interesting parallels to Paul's text. The second quotation from Lactantius' *Divinae institutiones* is equally well chosen. We are therefore inclined to think that Calvin has read both works. None of the quotations we have found in Calvin's commentary on Romans seem to have been collected from other writers. We have every reason to think that they come from Calvin's own reading of the sources.

¹ Another lexical aid which Calvin may have used is the index volume to the Erasmus edition of the *Omnia opera* of Jerome which had been prepared by Oecolampadius.

e) Institutes of 1543

The 1543 edition of the Institutes was essentially ready for publication before Calvin left Strasbourg and consequently it can be used as a source for our evaluation of Calvin's knowledge of the Church Fathers at the time of the publication of the Genevan Psalter of 1542. This edition is well provided with marginal notes referring to Biblical and patristic passages mentioned in the text¹.

We have already spoken of Calvin's special interest in Augustine and John Chrysostom. We see from this edition of the Institutes that Calvin is continuing to read both the dogmatic and the exegetical works of Augustine. The works of John Chrysostom continue to be quoted frequently. As we would expect, Calvin mentions the important series of expository sermons such as those on Matthew and Genesis². We now find Calvin is acquainted with the occasional sermons as well as the series of expository sermons³.

Ambrose receives considerable attention and one has the impression Calvin is acquainted with the larger part of his works⁴.

Jerome is now mentioned quite frequently. Calvin's chief interest in the ascetic grammarian is his writings against the Pelagians although Calvin often quotes his letters in regard to the government and discipline of the ancient Church⁵. Since Jerome was an exceptionally prolific writer, we hesitate to

¹ *Institutio Christianae religionis nunc vere demum suo titulo respondens* (Strasbourg: W. Rihel, 1543). We will in the following paragraphs, refer to the text of this edition as *Inst. 1543*, followed by the page number of the Strasbourg edition.

² *Inst. 1543*, 22, 47, 230, 270.

³ *Inst. 1543*, pp. 22, 80, 254, 269, 434, 436. Today, a number of these occasional sermons are regarded as not being from Chrysostom. Calvin seems to have been aware that the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* was of questionable authorship. The problem of the history of the text of the works of John Chrysostom is indeed complicated. "His great reputation as an orator, with whom in the West only Augustine can compare, caused many authors to seek immortality for their writings under the prestige of his name. The task of sifting the spurious from the genuine remains a fruitful field of research and must be finished before we can hope for a genuinely critical edition of his works, which is badly needed." (Quasten, *Patrology*, III, 430).

⁴ Among the works of Ambrose mentioned in the marginal notes we find the following: *De Isaac et anima* (*Inst. 1543*, p. 382), *De Iacob et vita beata* (*Inst. 1543*, p. 280), *De officiis ministrorum* (*Inst. 1543*, p. 177), *Sermo contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis* (*Inst. 1543*, p. 225), as well as his letters (*Inst. 1543*, pp. 177, 223, 231).

⁵ *Dialogi contra Pelagianos libri III*, *Inst. 1543*, pp. 22, 34; *Epistles*, *Inst. 1543*, pp. 47, 175, 209. In addition Calvin quotes his commentary on Isaiah, *Inst. 1543*, p. 174.

claim at this point that Calvin was familiar with the greater part of his work. We already know that even though at the beginning of the sixteenth century Erasmus, Pellikan, Oecolampadius and Zwingli gave considerable attention to the works of Jerome as an aid for exegesis, they had cooled in their enthusiasm for him as an exegete by the time Calvin had come along. Possibly for this reason Calvin had not given too much attention to Jerome's exegetical works, although his commentary on Isaiah is quoted.¹ The Reformers were without doubt not too favorably impressed with such apologetic works of Jerome as his *Adversus Helvedium de perpetua veritate b. Mariae*, his *Adversus Jovinianum* in which Jerome defended the superiority of celibacy over marriage, and his *Contra Vigilantium* which supported the honoring of relics, although it would be a mistake to assume that they had not read them. Calvin had probably by this time read enough of Jerome to know on what subjects he could enlist his support and on what subjects he could not.

The letters of Cyprian, Pope Leo the Great, and Pope Gregory the Great have evidently been carefully studied by Calvin in relation to questions of the discipline and organization of the ancient Church.² One marginal note implies that Calvin had already begun to study Petrus Crabbe's three-volume edition of the texts of the Church Councils³. There are numerous references to Eusebius and the Byzantine church historians⁴. Tertullian and Irenaeus are both mentioned but less frequently than in other works⁵.

The *Institutes* of 1543 confirms the same pattern we have seen in previous works. Calvin's quotations of the Fathers are few but they are well chosen. They reflect Calvin's use of the patristic editions produced by the Christian Humanists of Basel and Paris. They indicate a continued study of the literature of the ancient Church which progressively increases in regard to the number of authors read and variety of subjects studied. We find him quoting the Fathers that we could expect a Christian Humanist to have read.

¹ Inst. 1543, p. 172.

² Inst. 1543, pp. 175-180, 199, 459, 463-464.

These quotations are probably not simply taken over from Gratian because this edition of the *Institutes* usually quotes Gratian by the traditional method of citing canon law.

³ Inst. 1543, p. 200.

⁴ Inst. 1543, pp. 74, 177-178, 199, 202, 227.

⁵ Inst. 1543, pp. 395, 440.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

EDITIONS OF THE FATHERS AVAILABLE TO THE REFORMERS

From the beginning of our research we have tried to ask what writings of the ancient Church were known to the sixteenth century. In an attempt to answer this question we have drawn up the following annotated bibliography of editions of the Church Fathers available to the Reformers¹. One should be aware of the limitations of such a list from two sides. On the one side, the Reformers were not limited to printed editions. In the sixteenth century a scholar was still accustomed to reading manuscripts, and the libraries of the Upper Rhine housed many important manuscripts². On the other side, the fact

¹ For the greatest part the bibliography has been compiled from the Card Catalogue of the University Library of Basel, the *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la bibliothèque nationale*, 205 vols., Paris, 1897-1919, and the *General Catalogue of Printed Books of the British Museum*, photolithographic edition to 1955, 263 vols., London, 1965. On occasion we have consulted Georg Wolfgang Panzer, *Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine ad annum MD (et ab anno MDI ad annum MDXXXVI continuati)* . . . , Nuremberg, 1793-1803; François Ritter, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en Alsace au XVI^e siècle*, Strasbourg, 1934; and by the same author, *Catalogue des incunables alsaciens de la bibliothèque* . . . de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, 1938.

² Ernst Staehelin in *Lebenswerk Oekolampads* tells us of a number of instances where Oecolampadius had used manuscripts in his patristic studies, including a manuscript of Greek canon law (pp. 89-90 note 6), a manuscript of Gregory of Nazianzus (p. 102 note 7), another of Cyril of Alexandria (p. 445), John of Damascus (p. 117), and John Chrysostom (pp. 160-161). The last of these passages shows that Capito was also in the habit of reading manuscripts.

The country in which these Reformers lived was a good region in which to search for manuscripts. In the early Middle Ages the monasteries of St. Gallen, Reichenau, Murbach and Einsiedeln were famous for the production of manuscripts. By the time of the Reformation, the Reformers probably had access to the following libraries: (1) The Cathedral Library at Speyer had been praised by Wimpfeling as particularly good, (2) Konrad Peutinger's library in Augsburg contained until his death in 1547 one of the best collections in Europe. We can assume Oecolampadius had access to its treasures in 1518-1520 (Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 117) and probably Bucer at the time of the Diet of Augsburg, (3) the library of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg was also very good at the time, (4) Beatus Rhenanus had found important manuscripts in the monasteries of Hirsau and Murbach, (5) Einsiedeln was the home of Zwingli from 1516-1519 and its excellent library is still housed in the same monastery today, (6) Reichenau and St. Gallen had excellent libraries, (7) the Carthusian monastery across the river from Basel had an excellent collection of manuscripts due to the efforts of John Heynlin, (8) The University of Heidelberg had at the end of the fifteenth century a well-rounded collection

that the work had been available does not prove that it had been read, but only the possibility that it could have been read. In some cases we have been able to add more specific evidence that a certain author was known to the Reformers. First there is the list of editions produced by teachers or friends of the Reformers such as Jacques LeFèvre, Beatus Rhenanus and Erasmus. Then there is the impressive list of editions which the Reformers themselves had helped to produce. In some cases they edited the works of the Fathers, in some cases they translated them¹, arranged the index or wrote a preface². In other cases we have catalogues of the libraries of certain Reformers, Bucer and Olivetan

through the gifts of the counts of the Palatine and the care of Agricola and Reuchlin, (9) undoubtedly the best library open to the Reformers was the Dominican priory in Basel which in the fifteenth century had received from Cardinal Ragusa a very large collection of Greek manuscripts. The cardinal who had spent several years (1435-1436) in Constantinople as "ambassador" of the Council of Basel, had returned with a rich collection of Greek theological literature. (Cf., *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, ed. by G. Leyh (3 vols.; Wiesbaden, 1952-1955), especially pp. 434-438 and 533-559).

The richness of these libraries can be seen from the work of Johannes Trithemius, the Abbot of Sponheim, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, ed. by John Heynlin (Basel: Amerbach, 1494). This work is in many ways what one might call the Reformers' "Altaner" or "Quasten." It is a catalogue of theological writers which gives brief biographical accounts together with a list of their works. This list was compiled by his visits to the monasteries of the Rhineland and is therefore often an indication of what manuscripts were available at the end of the fifteenth century.

¹ Cf., E. Staehelin, "Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads." *Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift*, XXXIII (1916), 57-91.

² A further subject which could have been investigated at greater length is the editions of the Fathers published by printers inclined toward Protestantism. One first thinks of the Basel printers. Andreas Cratander, a native of Strasbourg, had been a long-time friend of Capito's. Enthusiastically he had attended the Isaiah lectures of Oecolampadius. The quality of his printing was greatly respected. While Froben was the printer of Erasmus and other Catholic humanists, Cratander was the printer for Oecolampadius. Thomas Wolf was an outspoken Protestant. It was his father Jakob von Pforzheim who had published the 1504 edition of John Chrysostom. Wolf printed many of the Reformed liturgical texts. Cf., Wackernagel, *Humanismus und Renaissance*, especially pp. 439-442; also C.W. Heckthorn, *The Printers of Basel in the XVth and XVIth Centuries* (London, 1897). A number of the Parisian publishers were inclined toward the Reformation. One thinks first of the Stephanus family which began by printing the works of LeFèvre and finally moved to Geneva to print the works of Calvin. The Stephanus family was especially well known for its editions of the Greek text of the fathers. Cf., A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estiennes ou histoire de la famille des Estiennes et de ses éditions* (New York, 1960).

for example¹. In 1921, Walter Köhler attempted a reconstruction of Zwingli's library². The library of Beatus Rhenanus has been preserved in Sélestat since the sixteenth century³. Recently Alexandre Ganoczy has published a study of the library of the Academy of Geneva⁴. What we are attempting to do is to get a look into the library of the Reformers, as it were. The least we can say is what books were to be found at the bookstore, but often we can say what patristic authors were to be found on the Reformers' bookshelves. Sometimes we can say what books had been well worn, thumbed through and filled with notes.

AMBROSE OF MILAN

Opera omnia

Divi Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis omnia opera accuratissime reuisa: atque in tres partes nitidissime excusa. Eiusdem sanctissimi Ambrosii vita a Paulino episcopo eleganter conscripta Anno M. D. XVI. (Basel: Adam Petrus, 1516).

Divi Ambrosii Episcopi mediolanensis omnia opera, . . . ed. by Erasmus of Rotterdam (Basel, 1527).

¹ We are indebted to Dr. Uwe Plath of the University of Basel for calling our attention to an inventory of the library of Pierre Robert Olivetan sent to Calvin in September of 1539. Among some sixty items we find editions of Theophylactus, Prudentius, Origen and Chrysostom.

² W. Köhler, Huldrych Zwinglis Bibliothek, vol. LXXXIV: Neujahrsblatt zum Besten des Waisenhauses in Zürich für 1921 (Zurich, 1931). (Hereinafter referred to as Bibliothek).

³ Although Beatus Rhenanus did not take the side of the Reformers, many of whom were his personal friends, he did nevertheless remain in cordial contact with most of them. The presence of an edition in his library serves chiefly to show the possibility that one of the Reformers might also have had it. Consequently we have found the Catalogue général de la bibliothèque municipale de la ville de Sélestat, ed. by Jos. Walter (Colmar, 1929), an invaluable aid. (Hereinafter referred to as Bibliothèque de Sélestat).

⁴ A. Ganoczy, La bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin (Geneva, 1969). (Hereinafter referred to as bibliothèque). While primarily of value for a period considerably after our concern, this work has nevertheless relevance for our period as well.

That the works of Ambrose, one of the four doctors of the Western Church, should have been in wide circulation is not at all surprising to us. The catalogue of the British Museum lists fourteen editions before 1500. Köhler gives a number of quotations indicating Zwingli's use of the writings of Ambrose¹. The Erasmus edition of Ambrose was dedicated to John à Lasco who, at that time was a Roman Catholic bishop, but later became a Protestant Reformer.

APOSTOLIC FATHERS²

Dionysius the Areopagite, Ignatius and Polycarp.

Theologia viuificans. Cibus solidus. Dionysii/ Celestis hierarchia,/ Ecclesiastica hierarchia./ Divina nomina./ Mystica theologia./ Undecim epistole./ Ignatii/Undecim epistole/ Polycarpi/ Epistola una./ Infinitus thesaurus aut perditus, aut absconditus. Dionysii/ Divini hymni./ De intellectualibus et sensibilibus/ Theologice informationes./ De anima./ Significativa theologia./ Legalis hierarchia/ Angelice proprietates et ordines./ De iusto divinoque/ iudicio . . . , ed. by J. LeFèvre (Paris: John Higmann and Wolfgang Hopyl, 1498).

Hermas.

Liber Pastoris. Liber trium virorum et trium spiritualium virginum, ed. by J. LeFèvre (Paris: H. Stephanus, 1513).

Ignatius of Antioch.

Gloriosi Christi Martyris Ignatii . . . Epistolae undecim. Item una beati Polycarpi martyris epistola, . . . ed. by J. LeFèvre (Basel, 1520).

Hermas.

Pastoris nuntii paenitentiae, visiones quinque, mandata duodecim, similitudines vero decem, ed. by N. Gerbellius (Strasbourg: Schott, 1522).

We have already spoken of the lamentable condition of the collection of the Apostolic Fathers known to the sixteenth century. As far as we have been able

¹ Köhler, Bibliothek Nr. 3.

² The term "Apostolic Fathers" is, of course, a dubious designation. Our use of the term might quite understandably be questioned. Nevertheless, we have used it to draw attention first to the fact that as early as 1498 there was an attempt to make such a collection and secondly, that precisely this grouping of Fathers, as it appears in the earliest edition of LeFèvre, presented considerable problems.

to gather the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians had been unknown in the West for some time. It was first with the gift of Codex Alexandrinus to Charles I of England by Patriarch Cyril Lucaris of Constantinople in 1628 that the West came to know this work. The sixteenth century did know the Martyrdom of Polycarp from its quotation in Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History IV, 15. The Epistle of Barnabas was first published by the Protestant scholar James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1642. It was not until 1672 that the French Roman Catholic scholar Cotelier published a reasonably complete edition of the Apostolic Fathers. It must be admitted that the Western Church of the Middle Ages had not well guarded the tradition of the Apostolic Fathers. Most of their writings had been lost and those which had been preserved had been mixed in with forgeries.

ARNOBIUS GALLUS

Johann Frobenius pio lectori s. d. En optime lector, rarum damus thesaurum, & nihil non novum, Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami praefationem ad nuper electum Pontificem Romanum Adrianum huius nominis sextum. Arnobii Afri Commentarios pios iuxta ac eruditios in omnes Psalmos sermone Latino, sed tum apud Afros vulgari, per Erasmum Roterodamum proditos & emendatos . . . (Basel: Johann Froben, 1522).

ATHANASIUS

S. Athanasius in librum Psalmorum nuper à Joanne Reuchlin integre translatus. (Tübingen: Thomas Anshelm, 1515).

Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini sanctissima, eloquentissimaque opera. Commentarij in epistolas Pauli contra Gentiles . . . De incarnatione Verbi . . . Disputatio contra Arrium. In vim Psalmorum opusculum. Exhortatio ad Monachos. De passione Imaginis domini nostri Libellus. Epistolae nonnullae Romanorum Pontificum ad Athanasium et Athanasij ad eosdem. ed. by N. Beraldus (Paris: John Petit, 1519).

Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini opera, . . . quorum catalogus sequitur . . . (essentially the same contents as the Paris edition of 1519 plus De variis quaestionibus liber), ed. by Erasmus (Strasbourg: Johannes Knobloch, 1522).

The Beraldus edition of 1519 gives us essentially what the Western Church knew of Athanasius at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, the edition

contained much spurious material. First there was the forged sermon *Historia imaginis Berytensis*, which had played an important role in the iconoclastic controversy of the ninth century. The Erasmus edition correctly suggested that the commentaries on the Pauline epistles were the work of the Byzantine theologian Theophylactus of Bulgaria. The presence of so much spurious material tended to cast into the shadows such important genuine works as the *Contra gentiles* and the *De incarnatione verbi*. Zwingli had a 1520 reprint of the Beraldus edition¹. Interestingly enough, it would be a native of Strasbourg, Johannes Piscator, the Reformed theologian of the Academy of Herborn, who in 1627 would publish the first dependable edition of Athanasius, although the Maurist Fathers would be able to improve the edition considerably in the following century².

AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

Opera omnia, ed. by J. Amerbach (9 vols.;
Basel, 1503-1506).

Opera omnia, ed. by Erasmus (10 vols.;
Basel, J. Froben, 1528-1529).

In addition to these epoch-making editions of the complete works of Augustine, there were great numbers of editions of single works. Particularly interesting are the incunabular editions of Augustine produced in Strasbourg by John Mentelin and Martin Flach. In the closing years of the fifteenth century, Amerbach published at Basel several editions of the sermons of Augustine. This work was largely inspired by Heynlin, Surgant and their friends. Zwingli had received the Amerbach edition as a gift from the publisher³. Bucer seems to have used the Amerbach edition while Calvin used the Erasmus edition. We have already mentioned that Pellikan brought the Amerbach edition to completion.

¹ Köhler, Bibliothek Nr. 11.

² Bardenhewer, altkirchliche Literatur III, 46-68.

³ Köhler, Bibliothek Nr. 13.

BARNABAS (Cf., APOSTOLIC FATHERS)

BASIL THE GREAT

Opera Magni Basilij: per Raphaellem Volaterranum nuper in latinum conversa, . . . (Rome: I. Mazochium, 1515).

Basilli Magni . . . opera . . . variis e locis sedulo collecta: & accurate ac impensis Iodoci Badii Ascensii recognita & coimpressa, . . . ed. by Jacques LeFèvre d'Étaples (Paris: J. Badius, 1520).

En amice lector, thesaurum damus inestimabilem D. Basilium vere magnum sua lingua disertissime loquentem, quem hactenus habuisti latine balbutientem, . . . ed. by Erasmus (Basel: Hieronimus Froben - Nicolas Episcopus, 1532).

Opera D. Basilii Magni . . . omnia, siue recens uersa, siue ad Graecos archetypos ita collata per Wolfgangum Musculum . . . ut aliam omnino faciem sumpsisse uideantur (2 vols.; Basel: Herwagen, 1540).

Zwingli is known to have been familiar with the edition of 1520¹. Unfortunately, this edition offered not much more than the sermons on the Hexaemeron, the Psalms and the collection of occasional sermons. The Erasmus edition of 1532 includes eleven sermons on the Hexaemeron, fifteen sermons on the Psalms, twenty-nine other sermons, *De spiritu sanctu* and a small collection of letters. The Musculus edition of 1540 marked an important advance in the sixteenth century's knowledge of Basil. Musculus, the Reformer of Augsburg, provided the edition with his own translations of a large number of works previously unpublished such as the *Ascetica*, the *Moralia* and the *De vita solitaria*. Not only did the Reformers know Basil, they did a great deal toward making him better known².

¹ Köhler, Bibliothek Nr. 21.

² We cannot really disagree with Ganoczy when he says "A l'égard du Cappadocien Basile, Calvin n'a jamais montré beaucoup de sympathie." On the other hand, we would be cautious in claiming an antipathy. Cf., Ganoczy, *bibliothèque*, 43.

CANON LAW SOURCES

Apostolic Constitutions.

Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ῥωμαίου
ἐπισκόπου.

. . . Constitutiones sanctorum Apostolorum, ed. by Franciscus Turrianus
(Venice: I. Zileti, 1563).

De Constitutionibus Apostolicis, B. Clemente Romano auctore libri octo
. . . J.C. Bovio . . . interprete . . . (Venice: I. Zileti, 1563).

Turrianus was the first to publish the Apostolic Constitutions. He published it as being a work of Ignatius of Antioch. Ignatius, as Turrianus understood it, had received his material from Clement of Rome.

The Decrees of the Councils

Concilia omnia, tam generalia, quam particularia, ab apostolorum temporibus in hunc usque diem a sanctissimis patribus celebrata, et quarum acta litteris mandata, ex vetustissimis diversarum regionum bibliothecis haberi potuerunt, his duobus continentur, ed. by Petrus Crabbe (Cologne; Ioannis Quentel, 1538).

Concilia omnia, tam generalia, quam particularia, ab Apostolorum temporibus in hunc usque diem celebrata, ex vetustissimis diversarum regionum bibliothecis haberi potuerunt in tres nunc tomos ob recentem multorum additionem divisa, ed. by Petrus Crabbe (Cologne: Ioannis Quentel, 1551).

Dionysiana

Κανόνες τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων συνόδων.

Apostolorum et sanctorum conciliorum decreta, ed. by J. du Tillet (Paris: c. Neobaru, 1540)¹.

The editor was Jean du Tillet whose younger brother was the traveling companion of Calvin in 1534-1536. For other publications of Jean du Tillet which

¹ Ganoczy, bibliothèque Nr. 30.

were suspected as being Protestant propaganda, see Doumergue, Jean Calvin, I, 370. In 1562, Jean du Tillet became bishop of Meaux.

Dionysiana-Hadriana

Canones Apostolorum, veterum conciliorum constitutiones, decreta pontificum antiquiora; de primatu Romanae Ecclesiae ex tribus vetustissimis exemplaribus transcripta, ed. by J. Wendelstinus (Mainz: n.n., 1525).

This edition was probably in Zwingli's library¹.

Pseudo-Isidoriana

Tomus primus quatuor conciliorum generalium, quadraginta septem conciliorum provincialium authenticorum, decretorum sexaginta novem Pontificum ab Apostolis et eorum canonibus usque ad Zachariam primum, Ysidoro auctore, ed. by J. Merlin (Paris, 1524).

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

The Reformers did not have an edition of Clement of Alexandria until L. Torrentius published the Greek text in Florence in 1550. We have found no evidence that the South German Reformers had read Clement before this date.

CLEMENT OF ROME (Cf., APOSTOLIC FATHERS)

CYPRIAN

Opera omnia, ed. by J. Andreas (Rome, 1471).

Cecilii Cipriani Episcopi cartaginensis et martiris dignissimi Libri et epistole Incipiunt feliciter (Memmingen: Alb. Kune, 1477).

Opera divi Caecilii Cypriani Episcopi Carthaginensis. . . . haec omnia nobis praestitit ingenti labore suo Erasmus Roterodamus. . . . (Basel: J. Froben, 1520).

¹ Köhler, Bibliothek Nr. 346.

The early sixteenth century knew a great number of editions of the works of Cyprian. According to Bardenhewer the first edition of the collected works of Cyprian was the Andreas edition of 1471¹. It was frequently reprinted in other cities: Venice, Memmingen, Deventer, Paris. Zwingli possessed a copy of the Erasmus edition which has come down to us filled with the Reformer's marginal notations².

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

Opus insigne beati patris Cyrilli patriarche Alexandrini in evangelium Joannis: a Georgio Trapezontio traductum (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, Tilman Kerver and Jean Petit. 1508).

Preclarum opus Cyrilli Alexandrini: quod Thesaurus nuncupatur, quatuordecim libros complectens: et de consubstantialitate filii et spiritus sancti cum deo patre, contra hereticos luculenter disserens: Georgio Trapezontio interprete, . . . ed. by J. Clichtoveus (Paris: W. Hopyl, 1514).

Eximii patris Cyrilli . . . commentarii in Leuiticum: sexdecim libris digesti, in quibus uarios sacrificiorum antiquae legis ritus primum ad allegoricum sensum accommodat: ostendens omnes illos aliquid mysticum designasse, quod in Christo completum est, deinde uero eosdem, ad sensum moralem et instituendam hominum uitam congruentissime applicat (Paris: W. Hopyl, 1514).

Divi Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini opera, ed. by J. Oecolampadius (Basel: Cratander, 1528).

Operum divi Cyrilli. . . . tomi quatuor, quorum postremus nunc recens accedit, ex graecis manuscriptis exemplaribus fideliter latinitate donatus, ed. by W. Musculus (4 vols.; Basel: Herwagen, 1546).

The 1508 edition of Cyril's commentary on the Gospel of John was carefully studied by Zwingli. His personal copy has come down to us filled with marginal notations in his own hand³. The Oecolampadius edition of 1528 added considerably to the list of the works of Cyril known to the sixteenth century. The Oecolampadius edition included: Commentary on John, Commentary on Leviticus, Thesaurus, De sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate, De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate (Book I only), Contra

¹ Bardenhewer, *Altkirchliche Literatur* II, 455.

² Köhler, *Bibliothek* Nr. 89.

³ Köhler, *Bibliothek* Nr. 82.

Iulianum, De recta fide ad Theodosium, De recta fide ad reginas. The edition of Musculus added further works. The Reformers can be credited with having presented a large portion of the works of Cyril to the Western Church for the first time.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

The first editions of Cyril of Jerusalem were produced after 1560, although it is quite possible that some of the Reformers knew Cyril of Jerusalem from a manuscript in Augsburg¹.

EPHRAEM OF SYRIA

Sermones Ingeniosissimi ac sanctissimi patris Ephrem Edissene ecclesie dyaconi Per fratrem Ambrosium Camaldulensem de greco in latinum Conuersi (Paris: Guy Marchand for Jean Petit, 1505).

We have never found any indication that any of the Reformers had read the works of Ephraem. A copy of this edition, however, was owned by Beatus Rhenanus².

EUCHERIUS OF LYON

D. Eucherii . . . formularum intelligentiae spiritualis liber. Ejusdem de quaestionibus difficilioribus Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Nominum Hebraicorum et aliorum sacris literis contentorum interpretatio . . . , ed. by J. Sichardus (Basel, 1530).

D. Eucherii Lugdunensis episcopi. Lucubrationes aliquot . . . In Genesim Commentariorum Libri III. In Libros Regum Commentariorum Libri IV. Formularum Spiritualium liber I. Questiones in Vetus et Novum Testamentum. Nominum Hebraicorum . . . (Basel: H. Froben and N. Episcopus, 1531).

¹ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed. by Auguste Piédagnel (Paris: 1966), 18-19.

² Bibliothèque de Sélestat, Nr. 1141.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA¹

de evangelica praeparatione a Georgio Trapezuntio e graeco in latinum traductus, opus cuique fideli non solum utile verum etiam iocundum & pernecessarium novissime impressum (Venice: Bernardinus Vercellensis, 1501)².

FULGENTIUS RUSPENSIS

Opera B. Fulgentii Aphri. Episcopi Ruspensis, Theologi antiqui. Nuper in vetustissimo codice apud Germanos inventa, obsoletis & Longobardicis literis conscripta Antea numquam impressa (Hagenau: Thomas Anshelm, 1520).

GREGORY THE GREAT

Sancti Gregorii Magni: ecclesie doctoris precipui Opera: olim diversis tomis dispersa: nunc vero beneficio magistri Bertholdi Rembolt in unum sunt volumen redacta (Paris: Berth. Rembolt for Jean Petit, 1518).

Divi Gregorii papae huius nominis primi cognomento magni omnia quae exstant, opere, nunc recens ad fidem veterum exemplariorum, accuratiore diligentia a mendis repurgata (Paris: Claud Chevallon, 1533).

Opera Gregorii. Divi Gregorii Papae huius nominis primi, cognomento magni, operum Tomus primus, Libri Job moralem contiens expositionem. Subsequitur in librum Samuelis . . . exposito. Accedunt duo Repertoria

. . . . Tomus secundus Pastoralis Cura -

De vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum, in Cantica Canticor. In Ezechielem proph. In diversas Evangelii lectiones (Lyon, 1539-1540).

Although the Paris edition of 1518 appears to be the first edition of the complete works of Gregory the Great, there was a surprising number of incunabular editions of single works. The catalogue of the British Museum lists over seventy-five editions of Gregory produced before 1518. It is obvious that to the generation just before the Reformation he was one of the best known Church Fathers, if not the best known of all.

¹ For editions of the Ecclesiastical History see under Historians.

² A copy of this edition is found in the library of Beatus Rhenanus. Bibliothèque de Sélestat, Nr. 1299.

GREGORY NAZIANZUS

Carmina . . . e graeco in latinum ad verbum fere tralata (sic) . . .
(Venice: Aldus, 1504).

Hi sunt in hoc Codice libelli X. divi Gregorii Nazanzeni: Apologeticus lib. I. / De epiphaniis sive natali domini / De luminibus, quod est de secundis epiphaniis / De fide Liber I. / De Nicena fide: de penthecoste et spiritu sancto / De semetipso et agro reuerso / De dictis hieremie presente imperatore / De reconciliatione et vnitate monachorum / De grandinis vastatione / De arrianis quod non liceat semper et publice de deo contendere. Explicit Liber B. Gregorii Nazanzeni episcopi translatus a quodam Rufino. (Strasbourg: Jo. Knoblauch, 1508).

D. Gregorii Nazanzeni Theologi Orationes Sex in natalem salvatoris . . .
Biblibaldo Pirckheymerho interprete (Nuremberg: Peypus, 1521).

Divi Gregorii Theologi Episcopi Nazanzeni. De Theologia Libri quinque nuper e graeco in Latinum à Petro Mosellano Protegense traducti (Basel: J. Froben, 1523).

D. Gregorii Nazianzeni, Cognomento Theologi, opera omnia quae extant, . . . Cum doctissimis Graecorum, Nicetae Serronii, Pselli, Nonni, & Eliae Cretensis Commentariis (Paris: Sebastian Nivellius, 1533).

Omnia opera, ed. by W. Musculus
(Basel: Herwagen, 1550).

The eloquent patriarch of Constantinople was greatly loved by the Christian Humanists because of his literary excellence. Such men as Oecolampadius and Pirckheimer translated his orations from Greek into Latin almost as a scholarly entertainment. Consequently, we find numerous editions of single works of Gregory of Nazianzus. According to Köhler, Pirckheimer himself sent Zwingli his 1521 edition of the *Orationes sex in natalem salvatoris*. Zwingli's copy of the Strasbourg edition of 1508 is filled with annotations in his own hand¹.

GREGORY OF NYSSA

Divini Gregorii Nyssae Episcopi qui fuit frater Basilii Magni. Libri Octo: De homine, De anima, De Elementis, De viribus animae, De voluntario et involuntario, De Fato, De libero arbitrio, De Providentia (Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1512).

¹ Köhler, Bibliothek, Nr. 141 and 142.

Gregorii Nyseni vetustissimi Theologi, Mystica Mosaicae uitae enarratio, perfectam formulam uiuendi, cuilibet Christiano praescribens, Georgio Trapezontio interprete (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1521).

The first of these publications is in reality a work of Nemesisius of Emesa. E. Rice has pointed out the significance of the work to French Christian Humanism¹. It was edited by Beatus Rhenanus and dedicated by him to Jacques LeFèvre. Zwingli's personal copy with marginal notes is to be found in the Zwingli-museum². In Bucer's library the book was to be found under the category of philosophical books rather than theological books. De vita Moysis, one of the classical examples of "mystical" exegesis, was published by Beatus Rhenanus in 1521. It was ill-timed. It came at precisely the moment when the Reformers were becoming disenchanted with the Alexandrian exegesis. While for the humanists the excellence of the Greek was sufficient to recommend the work, for the Reformers the combination of a philosophical approach to theology and allegorical exegesis was not very appealing. It would seem that an unfortunate selection of works as first editions spoiled the Reformer's appetite for Gregory of Nyssa before a larger selection of his works had appeared. Except for occasional editions of single works such as a Latin translation of De virginitate published in Rome in 1526, the great majority of Gregory of Nyssa's works were not known by the Western Church until the Paris edition of 1638.

HERMAS (Cf., APOSTOLIC FATHERS)

HESYCHIUS OF JERUSALEM

Isychii Presbyteri Hierosolymorum, in Leviticum libri septem (Basel: And. Cratander, 1527).

This edition may have been the project of Oecolampadius who several months before its publication wrote to Zwingli to tell him of its scheduled appearance and that the work to be published tended to support Zwingli's position on the Lord's Supper³.

¹ E. Rice, "The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity," pp. 175-179.

² Köhler, Bibliothek, Nr. 143.

³ Köhler, Bibliothek, Nr. 372.

HILARY OF POITIERS

Opera complura Sancti Hylarii Episcopi hac serie coimpressa. De trinitate contra Arrianos lib. XII. -- Contra Constantinum hereticum. -- Ad Constantinum Imperatorem. -- Contra Auxentium Arrianum. -- Auxentii Blasphemiae plena. -- De synodis contra Arrianos habitis. -- Ad Afram filiam divi Hylarii. -- In psalmos David Commentarii. -- In Evangelium Matthiae (Paris: Ascensius, 1510).

Divi Hilarii Pictauorum episcopi lucubrationes per Erasmus Roterodamum non mediocribus sudoribus emendatas, formulis nostris, opera quam nostra, quantum licuit, ornavimus. Priorem aeditionem non damnamus, sed quid intersit, ipse cognoscet ex collatione, lector optime, simulque valebis. Catalogum reperies in proxima pagella (Basel: John Froben, 1523).

Either the Paris edition or the Basel edition was owned by Zwingli according to Köhler¹. Beatus Rhenanus owned the Paris edition². The Erasmus edition of 1523 is probably responsible for the fact that Hilary seems to be particularly well known by the Reformers at the time the first liturgical reforms were made.

HISTORIANS OF THE CHURCH

In hoc corpore continentur tripartite historie ex Socrate Sozomeno et Theodorico in unum collecte et nuper de greco in latinum translate libri numero duodecim. . . . (Augsburg: Johanne Schüsseler, 1472).

Ecclesiastice et Tripartite hystorie: Insignia primitivae ecclesie virorum gesta feliciter complectentis: libri duodecim. Auctoribus grecis, Theodorico. Sozomeno. Socrate. Traductore. Latino, Epiphanio. Auspicante. Cassiodoro Senatore (Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, 1500).

Eusebii Caesariensis Episcopi Chronicon: quod Hieronymus presbyter divino eius ingenio Latinum facere curavit & usque in Valentem Caesarem Romano adiecit eloquio. Ad quem et Prosper et Matthaeus Palmerius, et Matthias Palmerius demum et Joannes Multivallis complura quae ad haec usque tempora subsecuta sunt adiecere (Paris: Henry Stephanus, 1512).

Autores historiae ecclesiasticae. Eusebii Pamphili Caesariensis Libri IX Ruffino interprete. Ruffini Presbyteri Aquileiensis, Libri duo, ed. by Beatus Rhenanus (Basel: John Froben, 1523).

Eusebii Pamphili Caesariensis Libri IX. Ruffino interprete. Ruffini Presbyteri Aquileiensis Libri duo. Recogniti ad antiqua exemplaria Latina per Beatum Rhenanum Item ex Theodorito Episcopo Cyrensi, Sozomeno,

¹ Köhler, Bibliothek, Nr. 151.

² Bibliothèque de Sélestat, Nr. 1514.

& Socrate Constantinopolitano libri XII versi ab Epiphanio Scholastico, abbreviati per Cassiodorum Senatorem: unde illis Tripartitae historiae vocabulum. . . . ed. by Beatus Rhenanus (Basel: Froben, 1528).

Chronica der Alten Christlichen Kirchen ausz Eusebio, Ruffino, Sozomeno, Theodoreto, Tertulliano, Justino, Cypriano und Plinio, durch Caspar Hedio verteutsch. (Strasbourg: G. Ulricher von Andla, 1530).

The history of the text of this collection of works is extremely complicated. The basis of the work was the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. In succeeding generations the Byzantine historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret brought the work up to date. At various stages in its development it was translated into Latin and brought up to date by a Latin supplement. Rufinus translated Eusebius, quite freely however, and then added two books which were for the most part simply translations and redactions of Gelasius of Caesarea. Cassiodorus had the monk Epiphanius Scholasticus translate the Byzantine historians and further edited the work. Finally Evagrius Scholasticus brought the work up to the end of the sixth century. The work was very well known and often quoted by the Reformers. As early as 1530, the Reformer Kaspar Hedio gave this composite work its first German translation.

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH (Cf., APOSTOLIC FATHERS)

IRENÆUS OF LYON

Opus eruditissimum Divi Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis in quinque Libros digestum, in quibus . . . confutat veterum haereseon impias . . . opiniones: ex vetustissimorum codicum collatione . . . emendatum opera Des Erasmi Roterodami ac nunc primum in lucem editum opera J. Frobenii. (Basel: Froben, 1526).

Divi Irenaei . . . libri quinque adversus portentosas haereses Valentini et aliorum, . . . mendati, additis Graecis quae reperire potuerunt: opera et diligentia N. Gallasii . . . una cum ejusdem annotationibus. (Geneva: Jean Le Preux and Jean Petit, 1570).

The publication of Irenaeus was closely related to the theological disputes of the sixteenth century. Oecolampadius argued both with Johannes Fabri at the Dispute of Baden in 1526 as well as with his old friend Willibald Pirckheimer over Irenaeus' Eucharistic doctrine¹. Fabri had a copy of the Codex Nico-

¹ CR, XCV, 629-630.

lian us made for him at Rome and Pirkheimer was at the time more than likely the owner of Codex Arundelianus 87. Further investigation might show that Oecolampadius knew a manuscript belonging to the Basel Dominicans or to the Monastery of Hirsau. The argument was well in progress when Erasmus published his edition in 1526. The Erasmus edition was frequently reprinted for the following fifty years. Unfortunately, the text of Irenaeus had not been well preserved by the Western Church and large lacunae existed. In 1570 the Reformed pastor Nicolas Gallars was able to restore a large fragment of Book I and François Feu-Ardent, a French Franciscan, was able to restore a good part of Book V in an edition of 1575. The recovering of the text with the aid of the Armenian version remains today a most complicated task as the edition of Adelin Rousseau demonstrates¹.

JEROME

Omnium operum Divi Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Cum argumentis et Scholiis Des Erasmi Roterodami (9 vols.; Basel: Froben, 1516).

This edition which Erasmus, along with his Greek New Testament, considered to be his major contribution to the renewal of theology, was the Reformers' edition of Jerome. Pellikan and Oecolampadius helped Erasmus produce it before the Reformation began. It was known and used by all the Reformers. There had, of course, been great numbers of editions of the single works before the Erasmus edition of 1516-1520. The first edition of his letters was printed in Strasbourg in 1467. This was followed by at least twenty other editions of the *Vitae patrum*. In 1497-1498, an edition of the exegetical writings of Jerome appeared in Venice. As one would expect, the tradition of Jerome, one of the four doctors of the Western Church, had been comparatively well guarded.

¹ Irénéé de Lyon, *Contre les hérésies*, Livre IV, ed. by Adelin Rousseau (Paris, 1965), cf., especially the chapter "La tradition latine" by B. Hemmerdinger.

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

1. Accipe candidissime lector opera Diui Joannis Chrisostomi archiepiscopi constantinopolitani, ed. by Bernard Brixiensis (Venice: Gregorius, 1503).
According to C. Baur the contents are as follows:
Vol. 1: 45 homilies
Vol. 2: The Opuscles and 36 sermons
Vol. 3: 80 homilies
Vol. 4: Sermons 1-26 on Matthew and then 55 sermons of the Opus Imperfectum
Vol. 5: 87 homilies on the Gospel of John
Vol. 6: De laudibus Pauli, and sermons on Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, I and II Timothy
2. Accipe Candidissime lector opera diui Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani. (4 vols.; Basel: Jakob of Pforzheim, 1504).
3. Omnia opera. (5 vols.; Basel: Froben, 1517).
This work contains the following:
Tome I: 89 sermons on Matthew
Tome II: 87 sermons on John
Tome III: 6 sermons on Titus, 3 sermons on Philemon, 34 sermons on Hebrews, 18 sermons on I Timothy, 10 sermons on II Timothy.
Tome IV: 80 sermons for different occasions.
4. Omnia opera. (7 vols.; Basel: Cratander, 1522-1525)¹
5. Diui Ioannis Chrysostomi, Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, in totum Geneseos librum Homiliae sexaginta sex, a Ioanne Oecolampadio hoc anno uersae. . . . (Basel: Cratander, 1523).
6. D. Joannis Chrysostomi archiep. Const. opera ed. by Erasmus Rot. (2 vols.; Basel: Hieron. Froben, Joh. Herwagen, Nicol. Episcopus, 1530-1531).
7. Chrysostomi D. Joh., Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani in Omnes D. Pauli epistolas commentarii, quotquot apud Graecos extant latinitate donati quorum bona pars quae hactenus desiderabatur recens a D. Wolfgango Musculo traducta est. (Basel: J. Herwagen, 1536).
8. Johannis Chrysostomi des heiligen Ertzbischoffs zu Constantinopel Ausslegung über die Euangelia Sancti Matthei vnnd Sancti Johannis Zur auffbauung der Kirchen Gottes in Teütschem landt Durch Doctor Caspar Hedio verteütscht. (Strasbourg: Balthassar Beck, 1540).

¹ We have been unable to discover whether Cratander achieved the completion of the projected seven volumes. Volumes III-VII are to be found in Bibliothèque de Sélestat, Nr. 935.

According to Dom Baur the Western Church in the Middle Ages knew less than a quarter of the genuine works of John Chrysostom¹. In the fifteenth century, Georges de Trebizonde made a translation of a selection of his works. With the invention of the printing press these translations begin to appear, but rather slowly. There was an edition of the sermons on Matthew in Strasbourg in 1466 and an edition of the sermons on Hebrews in 1485. A number of smaller works, mostly sermons, were printed in the fifteenth century; however, it was not until the Venice edition of 1503 that the Trebizonde translations were fully published. The Reformers took a great interest in John Chrysostom. John Oecolampadius added substantially to the number of his works available. In 1523, he published a volume of Latin translations of shorter works, the *Psephomata*. This was continued with his translations of the sermons on Genesis which unfortunately rested on a rather poor text, and finally with his translations of the sermons on The Acts of the Apostles and II Corinthians. Wolfgang Musculus continued the work of Oecolampadius with his translations of the sermons on the Pauline epistles. We have already mentioned the German translations of the sermons on the Gospels of Matthew and John by Kaspar Hedio. It would seem that, in fact, the Reformers had done an important work in making John Chrysostom better known in the West.

The Froben edition of 1517 was studied by Zwingli probably before the beginning of his ministry in Zurich². Olivetan's library contained an edition of his works³. According to Ganoczy, Calvin's copy of the Erasmus edition is still preserved in Geneva⁴. Its margins are filled with notes indicating a careful and continued study.

¹ Although the Western Church from the fifth to the ninth centuries had given great attention to Chrysostom and had already translated many of his works, Dom Baur's study of medieval libraries shows that most of these translations were lost. Chrysostom is not frequently found in the libraries of the Middle Ages. Cf., Chrysostom Baur, O. S. B., *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses oeuvres dans l'histoire littéraire* (Louvain and Paris, 1907), 60-66.

² Köhler, *Bibliothek*, Nr. 83.

³ CR, XXXVIII, 366-378.

⁴ Ganoczy, *bibliothèque*, Nr. 70.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS

De fide orthodoxa. Contenta. Theologia Damasceni.

- I. De ineffabili divinitate.
- II. De creaturarum genesi ordine Moseos.
- III. de iis que ab incarnatione usque ad resurrectionem.
- IV. de iis que post resurrectionem usque ad universalem resurrectionem.

trans. by J. LeFèvre (Paris: Henry Stephanus, 1507).

Beatus Rhenanus owned an edition printed by Henry Stephanus in 1512, which is evidently a reprint of the Paris edition of 1507. Zwingli is familiar with his works before 1525.

LACTANTIUS

De Divinis Institutionibus Adversus Gentes.
(Venice: Simon Bevilacqua, 1497).

Coelii Lactantii Firmiani Divinarum institutionum libri VII. -- De via Dei liber I. -- De opificio Dei Liber I. Epitome in libros suos liber acephalos.
-- Phoenix. Carmen de dominica resurrectione. -- Carmen de Passione Domini. (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1521).

The enormous popularity of this work in the time of the Renaissance is witnessed by the fact that it was the first book to be printed in Italy at the Monastery of Subjaco in 1465. By the end of the fifteenth century, there were already fourteen editions. Zwingli is known to have owned a copy as early as 1516¹. It can be assumed that any Reformer with a taste for Ciceronian Latin knew Lactantius well.

LEO THE GREAT

Leonis magni, papae, Sermones et epistolae curante G. Andrea. (Rome: J. P. de Lignamine, c. 1470).

Epistolae catholicae et sanctae eruditionis plenissimae, ed. by J. LeFèvre d'Étaples (Paris: J. Petit and J. Badius, 1511).

¹ Köhler, Bibliothek, Nr. 179.

The edition of the sermons and letters printed in Rome in 1470 was frequently reprinted: Basel, 1475; Cologne, 1475; Venice, 1482; Venice 1485. The letters of Leo the Great are also to be found in collections of the sources of canon law such as those of Merlin and Crabbe.

LITURGICAL TEXTS

Byzantine liturgies.

Αἱ θεῖαι λειτουργεῖται τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου,
Βασιλεῦς τοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων.

ed. by D. Ducas (Rome, 1526).

Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.

Diuina missa Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi
(Venice, 1528).

D. Joannis Chrisostomi Missa graeco-latina,
D. Erasmo, Roterdamo, interprete. (Paris:
C. Wecheli, 1537).

Missa D. Joannis Chrysostomi secundum veterem usum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae . . . (Colmar: Gryeninger, 1540). (Preface from Beatus Rhenanus).

Der heiligen Messen brauch wie er in der alten Kyrchen vor tausent jaren gewesen. Aus S. Joan Chrysostomo verdeutscht, ed. by Georg Witzel (n. p., n. n., 1540).

Ethiopic liturgy.

Modus baptizandi, preces et benedictiones quibus Ecclesia Ethiopum utitur, Item Missa qua communiter utuntur, quae etiam Canon universalis appellatur; nunc primum ex lingua Chaldea sive Aethiopica in Latinam conversae, ed. by Petrus, Abbas Athiops (Rome: Apud Antonium Bladum, 1549).

Eastern Liturgies.

Liturgae sive missae sanctorum patrum: Iacobi apostoli & fratris Domini. Basilii magni, e vetusto codice Latinae translationis. Ioannis Chrysostomi, interprete Leone Thusco. De ritu missae et eucharistiae: Ex libris B. Dionysii Areopagitae. Iustini martyris. Gregorii Nysseni. Ioannis Dama-

sceni. Nicolai Methonensis. Samonae Gazae archiepiscopi. Germani archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani. Nicolai Cabasilae, Gentiano Herueto interprete. . . . ed. by Joannes a Sancto Andrea (Paris: Morel, 1560).

There is no need to enumerate the editions of the Roman Mass which the Reformers could have used. The Eastern liturgies one would expect to be less well known, but to suggest that they were unknown would be mistaken¹. What is particularly interesting is that none of the earlier editions of the works of Basil the Great and John Chrysostom contain the liturgies which bear their names. There were, of course, numerous liturgical manuscripts of the Eastern Church available throughout Europe. It would seem that at the beginning of the Reformation, neither the humanists nor the Reformers considered the Eastern liturgies to have the antiquity claimed for them. It seems to be largely for polemical reasons that most of the Eastern liturgies were finally published².

NEMESIUS OF EMESA (Cf., GREGORY OF NYSSA)

NILUS

Beatissi. Patris Nili. Episcopi et martyris Theologi antiquiss. Sententiae morales e graeco in latinum versae. (Strasbourg: Mathias Chürer, 1516).

We have not been able personally to investigate this book³. Whether the book does indeed contain the works of Nilus of Ancyra, sometimes called Nilus Sinaita, the well-educated superior of a monastery in Asia Minor whose moral and ascetical treatises have been especially valued by the monks of the Eastern Church, we hesitate to say.

¹ Ganoczy, bibliothèque, Nr. 33.

² Cf., P. Polman, L'Elément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle, pp. 431-433.

³ Bibliothèque de Sélestat, Nr. 1930

ORIGEN¹

Operum Origenis Adamantii ed.by J. Merlin
(Paris: Jean Petit, 1512).

Origenis Adamantii eximii scripturarum interpretis opera quae quidem
extant omnia per Des. Erasmum Roterodamum. . . . Epistola Beati
Rhenani nuncupatoria. (Basel: Froben, 1536).

The edition of Merlin, Paris, 1512, was well known by the Reformers. The four volumes of Zwingli's personal copy have come down to us with extensive marginal notes in Zwingli's own hand². An edition of the works of Origen appears in the catalogue of the library of Olivetan³. The Merlin edition was reprinted in 1519 and again in 1522. Essentially this edition is made up of the Latin translations of Rufinus and Jerome, which had been well known in the West for some time⁴. The first volume contains homilies on the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges. The second volume has a portion of a commentary on Job, homilies on Psalms 36-38, on the Song of Solomon, on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Volume three has thirty-six homilies on Matthew, the homilies on Luke and the commentary on Romans. The fourth volume has the Contra Celsum, and the De principiis. It is interesting to note that it was Origen who was the favorite Church Father of Erasmus⁵.

POLYCARP (Cf., APOSTOLIC FATHERS)

PRUDENTIUS

In Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Caesaraugustani V.C. De miraculis Christi
Hymnum ed amnes horas, Jacobi Spiegel Selestatensis interpretatio.
Cum gratia et privilegio.

¹ Cf., D.P. Walker, "Origène en France au début du XVI^e siècle,"
Courants religieux et humanisme à la fin du XV^e et au début du XVI^e siècle, Paris, 1959.

² Köhler, Bibliothek, Nr. 250.

³ CR, XXXVIII, 366-368.

⁴ According to Dom Leclercq, Origen was particularly beloved by medieval monasticism because he offered an interpretation of the Scriptures particularly directed toward the monastic way of life. Origen was the first monastic Biblical scholar and in the West monastic reform was often connected with a renewed interest in his works. This was true in spite of the fact that his orthodoxy was under question. J. Leclercq, O.S.B., Wissenschaft und Gottverlangen (Düsseldorf, 1963), 110-113.

⁵ L. Spitz, The Religious Renaissance, 214 and 218.

Magnifico clarissimoque viro D. Jacobo Villinger Caesareo Quaestori ac Consiliario, dno in Schonberg insigni bonarum literarum patrono, Paulus Volzius Abbas Hugonicae curiae, Jacobus Wimpfelingius, Paulus Phrygio doctor Theologus, Jacobus Wolphius secretarius reipu. Selestadien. Beatus Rhenanus, Martinus Bucerus, Jo. Sapidus, Beatus Arnoaldus, Jo. Güntherus, Lazarus Schurerius, Jo. Restatius, Martinus Egerinus, Joa. Maius, La Lazarus Jgerinus & Jo. Priscus. S. dicunt .. Selestadii Col Maiis, M. D. XX. (Schlettstadt: Lazarus Schurer, 1520).

This edition was produced jointly by the Christian Humanists of Sélestat, Wimpfeling, Phrygio, Rhenanus, Bucer, Sapidus and others whose names all appear in the dedication¹. It is clear evidence that Bucer belonged to the circle of Christian Humanists of his native city well before leaving for Heidelberg. There were numerous editions of Prudentius. The Brethren of the Common Life produced an edition at Deventer in 1497 and Sicardus produced another edition in Basel in 1527.

TERTULLIAN

Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani inter latinos ecclesiae scriptores primi, siue quorum lectione nullum diem intermittebat olim divus Cyprianus per Beatum Rhenanum Selestadiensem e tenebris eruta atque a situ pro virili vindicata, adiectis singulorum librorum argumentis . . . (Basel: John Froben, 1521).

Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Carthaginensis, inter Latinos ecclesiae scriptores primi, siue quorum lectione nullum diem intermittebat olim divus Cyprianus per Beatum Rhenanum Selestadiensem e tenebris eruta atque a situ pro virili vindicata. Adiectis singulorum librorum argumentis et nullibi non coniecturis, ac nuper collatione Gorziensis exemplaris ex Mediomatricibus oblata, non solum longe emendatiora facta. verum etiam pro re nata novis ac retextis annotationibus exposita illustrataque. (Basel: Hieronymus Froben, Nicolas Episcopus, 1539).

The Beatus Rhenanus edition of Tertullian was a very popular book with the first generation of Reformers. Zwingli is known to have had a copy of a Venice edition of 1515². The Beatus Rhenanus edition unfortunately did not have several of the works such as the *De baptismo*, *De idololatria* and *De oratione domini*³, which for liturgical studies have special interest.

¹ Bibliothèque de Sélestat, Nr. 2096.

² Köhler, Bibliothek, Nr. 309.

³ This is due to the fact that in the Middle Ages six different selections of his works were in circulation. These different selections were the result of various attempts to make an "orthodox" selection of Tertullian's works. The three manuscripts on which Rhenanus based his edition all belonged to the selection called *Corpus Cluniacense*. Cf., Quasten, *Patrology*, II, 251-254.

CONCLUSION

At the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, Northern Europe experienced a great renewal in patristic studies. The Reformers of Switzerland, South Germany and Alsace had been the students of that group of Christian Humanist scholars who had led this rediscovery of the Church Fathers. Hedio, Capito and Zell had succeeded to the pulpits of Surgant, Geiler and Heynlin. Bucer, Musculus and Phrygio had studied in Wimpfeling's Latin School. Farel had been with Jacques LeFèvre at Meaux, Pellikan and Oecolampadius had collaborated in the famous Erasmus editions of the Church Fathers, even before the Reformation. After the Reformation, Oecolampadius, Musculus, and Hedio continued to publish editions of the Fathers. It was in the cities of Strasbourg and Basel where so many of the first editions of the Church Fathers were printed, that much of the leadership for liturgical reform was to come. Both Zwingli and Calvin had studied and worked in Basel. Zwingli had been in Surgant's parish school and Calvin had been strongly influenced by both LeFèvre and Erasmus.

When we consider all this, it is hard to imagine how the accusation could ever have been made that the Reformation neither knew nor cared about the Church Fathers. We have seen how Calvin on more than one occasion convincingly defended the Reformed Church's knowledge of the Fathers. In the seventeenth century, David Blondel, Remi Oudin and Archbishop James Ussher continued to uphold the reputation of Reformed patristic scholarship. What happened after that time is another matter. For our purposes, however, it is evident that those who were responsible for the liturgical reforms which we intend to study were men well grounded in their knowledge of the literature of the ancient Church.

Chapter III

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE WORD

Having devoted two chapters to introductory questions, we now turn to the proper subject of our investigation. One after another we will take the various elements of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 and show what patristic roots we have been able to find for each. Nevertheless, to see the patristic roots in their proper perspective, it will be necessary from time to time to discuss exegetical, historical, or theological roots. We will begin with several liturgical questions regarding the reading and preaching of the Holy Scriptures. In this chapter we are not going to try to present a work on the homiletics of the early Reformed Church. That is, we are not going to be concerned with the questions of what a sermon is, how a sermon is made, the goal of the sermon or the appropriate use of rhetoric. We are concerned rather with certain liturgical questions. First, we want to speak about the conviction of the Reformers that the reading and preaching of the Scriptures was essential to the service of the Lord's Day. Secondly, we will be concerned about the liturgical ordering of this service, that is the lectionary. Thirdly, we will take up a particular problem of the lectionary: the place of the reading and preaching of the Old Testament in the worship of the Christian Church. Finally, we will treat the Prayer for Illumination which in the Reformed liturgy is the liturgical introduction to the reading and preaching of the Scriptures.

A. THE PROCLAIMING OF THE WORD AS ESSENTIAL TO THE
SERVICE OF THE LORD'S DAY¹

1. The Position of the Reformers

We have already mentioned how the Grund und Ursach tried to find an answer to the question of what is the "reasonable" and "well pleasing" service which God demands of his Church. How does God want his Church to serve

¹ (a) For works on the preaching of the Reformers we have found the following most helpful:

R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879).

Oskar Farner, *Huldrych Zwingli, vol. III: Seine Verkündigung und ihre ersten Früchte, 1520-1525* (Zurich, 1954), 29-187.

Erwin Mülhaupt, *Die Predigt Calvins, ihre Geschichte, ihre Form und ihre religiösen Grundgedanken* (Berlin, 1931). (Hereinafter referred to as *Die Predigt Calvins*).

Johannes Müller, *Martin Bucers Hermeneutik*.

Alfred Niebergall, "Die Geschichte der christlichen Predigt," *Leiturgia, Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, ed. by Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg (5 vols.; Kassel, 1954), II, 182-352. (Hereinafter referred to as "Die Geschichte.") (*Leiturgia, Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes* hereinafter referred to as *Leiturgia*).

T.H.L. Parker, *The Oracles of God, an Introduction to the Preaching of John Calvin* (London and Redhill, 1947).

Ernst Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 97-104, 220-241, 411-428, 488-496.

Eberhard Weismann, "Der Predigtgottesdienst und die verwandten Formen," *Leiturgia*, III, 1-67.

(b) For the preaching of the primitive Church:

Oscar Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, trans. by A. Stewart Todd and James B. Torrance (London, 1953).

Gerhard Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, trans. by Percy Scott (Philadelphia, 1962), 92-103.

C.H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (London, 1936).

Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (3rd ed.; Frankfurt am Main, 1931), 194-198. (Hereinafter referred to as *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*).

Jungmann, MS, I, 583-590.

A.G. Martimort, ed., *L'Eglise en Prière, Introduction à la liturgie* (Paris, 1961), 112-119.

Niebergall, *Leiturgia*, II, 210-235.

Hans Lietzmann, *A History of the Early Church*, trans. by Bertram Lee Woolf (4 vols.; Cleveland and New York, 1964-1967), III, 289, 290.

or worship him? The answer was that the service which is well pleasing to God is "logical," that is, it is a service in accordance with the Logos, in accordance with God's Word¹. Zwingli often emphasizes that Christ sent the Apostles out to preach and this is an essential if not the essential "service" of the ministry. In fact, the minister who does not serve the people of God with the Bread of Life is an untrue servant and the shepherd who does not pasture the flock with the Word is a wicked shepherd². Just as it is the service of the ministry to preach the Word of God, it is the service of the faithful to hear the Word of God³. For Zwingli the text "This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased; listen to him," (Matt. 17:5) is a text that applies to the preaching of the Church.

In the Evangelical worship of Strasbourg as early as 1524, the reading and the preaching of the Scriptures in German had become an essential part of the liturgy. Bucer quotes the text of I Corinthians 14:26, "When you come together each one has a hymn, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, or an interpretation." Therefore, when the Church comes together there should be teaching, hymns of praise, and prayer. That was the way the Church of the New Testament had come together and that was the way the Church of Strasbourg

Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, eds., *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, (4th ed.; n.p., 1965), IV, 171-188. (Hereinafter referred to as *Kommentar*).

(c) Particularly instructive in regard to patristic preaching are several volumes of the *Sources chrétiennes*. Among a number that could be mentioned we list the following:

Augustine of Hippo, *Sermons pour la Pâque*, ed. by Suzanne Poque (Paris, 1966). See especially chapter II of the Introduction, "La prédication pascale," 55-115.

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed. by Auguste Piédangel (Paris, 1966).

Leo the Great, *Sermons*, ed. by J. Leclercq (O.S.B.) and R. Dolle, (O.S.B.) (3 vols.; Paris, 1957-1964).

Melito of Sardis, *Sur la Pâque (et fragments)*, ed. by O. Perler (Paris, 1966).

Origen, *Homélie sur le Cantique*, ed. by O. Rousseau, (O.S.B.) (Paris, 1966).

To this might be added:

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Macht des Mysteriums, sechs geistliche Reden an den Hochtage der Kirche*, ed. by Thomas Michels (O.S.B.) (Düsseldorf, 1956).

¹ See Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer, kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament* (12th ed.; Göttingen, 1963), 292 on the text of Rom. 12:1-2.

² CR, LXXXIX, 73-75 and 440-441; CR, XC, 59; CR, XCI, 392.

³ CR, LXXXIX, 73-75.

was to come together. The Scriptures should not only be taught but also proclaimed and the people admonished to follow them¹. Already we find Bucer quoting Acts 2:42 as the norm for the worship life of the Church: "And they devoted themselves to the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and to the prayers." The Christian liturgy had four essential parts, preaching, the giving of alms, the Lord's Supper and prayer².

Calvin also emphasizes that preaching is essential to the liturgy or "service" of the Church. Calvin says in the preface to his Genevan Psalter of 1542: "There are three things that our Lord has commanded us to observe in our assemblies of worship: the preaching of his Word, public prayers and the administration of the sacraments." The Genevan Catechism of 1542 taught that it was for the regular preaching of the Gospel in the Christian assembly that Jesus Christ established the ministry of the Word and it was therefore the responsibility of all Christians to diligently and humbly receive this ministry. It is in the proclaiming and hearing of the Gospel that the Church is built up³. In commenting on the Gospel of Luke's account of Jesus' sermon in the synagogue of Nazareth, Calvin quotes the passage, "and he went to the synagogue, as his custom was, on the Sabbath Day," and remarks that however far from the truth the Jewish synagogue may have been in the days of Jesus, nevertheless the service of worship did preserve the public reading of the Scriptures followed by teaching and exhortations based on the passage read⁴. Calvin goes on to say that the purpose of the Sabbath was not simply rest but the gathering together of the people for the hearing of the Word, for public prayers, and the sacraments. This practice, says Calvin, should be continued in the Church on the Lord's Day⁵. That the liturgy should be celebrated without the preaching and hearing of the Word of God was to the Reformers an unthinkable disobedience to the clear commandment of Scripture.

¹ BDS, I, 246-247.

² BDS, I, 247-248.

³ Questions 304-307, *Bekenntnisschriften und Kirchenordnungen der nach Gottes Wort reformierten Kirche*, ed. by Wilhelm Niesel (3rd ed.; Zollikon-Zurich, 1938), 34.

⁴ CR, XLV, 140.

⁵ "Quod scripturam legebant coram populo, ut inde sumerent docendi et exhortandi materiam . . . ut populus ad audiendum verbum, ad publicas preces et reliqua pietatis exercitia conveniat. . . . In quem usum judaico sabbato successit dies dominicus." CR, X'V, 140.

2. Influence of the Catholic Reformers

If the Reformers were determined to restore preaching to the regular worship of the Church, it was in no small way because of the great attention the Catholic reformers gave to the classical preachers of Christian antiquity. First of all, the reading of the sermons of the Fathers had a place in the daily office of the monasteries. Here the Reformers had become acquainted with the rich treasures of homiletical literature such as the sermons of Leo the Great, Ambrose of Milan, and Jerome. As the culture of classical antiquity was beginning to give way to the Dark Ages, the monks began to make collections of the sermons of the Fathers for liturgical use. Cassidorus, for instance, made a homiliarium with sermons of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, and Leo the Great. Caesar of Arles prepared a collection of sermons of the Fathers to be used at regular worship services. In Merovingian times it seems to have been the practice for the celebrant simply to read one of these sermons rather than to deliver a sermon of his own. In Carolingian times a number of such collections were produced. Those of the Venerable Bede, Alcuin, and Paulus Diaconus were particularly well known¹. One homiliarium which particularly draws our interest is that edited by Johann Ulrich Surgant. It is one of the most beautiful examples of incunabular printing we have had the pleasure of examining. On every page are to be found beautifully hand-painted initial letters in red and blue ink. We find many of the traditional sermons of the four doctors of the Western Church, but in addition there are sermons of John Chrysostom, Origen, and Maximus as well as several later authors².

Secondly, the generation immediately before the Reformation had come to a much better knowledge of the preaching of the Church Fathers through the new editions of their collected works which were beginning to be produced by the presses of Venice, Paris, Basel and Strasbourg. We have already spoken about this subject at length, mentioning how the Reformers paid special attention to the exegetical literature of the ancient Church and how so much of this

¹ LThK, V, 465-466.

² Homeliarium doctorum: Hieronimus, Origenes, Chrysostomus, Maximus, Leo, Augustinus, Ambrosius, Alcuinus, Beda, Haymo, Hericus, Gregorius (Basel: Nicolas Kessler, 1493).

was simply the recorded sermons of the Fathers. Through editions of the collected writings of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Origen and John Chrysostom, the Reformers had come to have a broad knowledge of the homiletical works of the patristic age.

Thirdly, we want to stress that the Reformers were undoubtedly influenced by the high preaching culture of the South German cities. Constance, Augsburg, Basel, Memmingen, and Strasbourg already had great pulpit traditions, even before the Reformation. Rudolf Staehelin has pointed out the importance of the well cultivated preaching tradition of the city of Basel for the development of Zwingli¹. Johannes Heynlin of Stein, a patristic scholar of note who had been rector of both the Universities of Paris and Tübingen, had been preacher at St. Leonard's Church. His preaching reputation was of considerable brilliance. Unfortunately, the large collection of his sermons to be found in the Basel University Library has never been published². For almost thirty years Johann Ulrich Surgant had laboured to revive Christian preaching in the city of Basel. However, the greatest preacher of the age before the Reformation was Johannes Geiler of Kayzersberg. His pupils such as Matthew Zell, Jakob Sturm, and Jakob Otther named Geiler as a strong influence on their decision to support the Reformation. Geiler was particularly concerned with the importance of preaching as a means of teaching and therefore we find him often preaching series of sermons on the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. Geiler was a capable theologian and knew the sermons of Augustine, Pope Leo the Great, Pope Gregory the Great and especially those of John Chrysostom³. It would be a mistake to overlook the fact that much of the influence of the Fathers on the preaching of the Protestant Reformers was mediated by the Catholic humanist reformers. Let us now turn to a consideration of more immediate patristic influences.

¹ Rudolf Staehelin, *Zwingli als Prediger* (Basel, 1887), 7.

² RE, VIII, 36-38.

³ E. Jane Dempsey Douglass, *Justification in Late Medieval Preaching, a Study of John Geiler of Keisersberg* (Leiden, 1966), 36-37.

3. Patristic Works Influential on the Reformers'

Practice of Preaching

First we would mention the *De doctrina christiana* of Augustine. All the way through the Middle Ages this had been the classical text for homiletics. It continued to be a favorite of Renaissance preachers and so we find it not the least bit surprising that the Reformation adopted it with equal favor. As we have mentioned in the last chapter, it was Kaspar Hedio who gave it a German translation in 1530, which is an indication of its usefulness to the Protestants of Strasbourg. The Basel Reformation's *Ordnung* of 1529 shows many of the concerns of the *De doctrina christiana*. Whether this influence is direct or whether it is mediated through the influence of Heynlin and Sargant we hesitate to say. It is in an early work of Ulrich Zwingli's, *Der Hirt*, that we find a particularly strong influence of Augustine's classical treatise on homiletics.

We note the following themes of the *De doctrina christiana* which appear in the *Der Hirt* of Zwingli. First great importance is given to the gifts of the Spirit, faith, hope, and love, with which one must enter into any exegetical endeavor. We find in both works that a knowledge of the original languages is stressed. In both works we find a rather free approach to the art of rhetoric. In spite of the fact that Augustine had been an imperial professor of rhetoric in Milan and Zwingli a capable humanist, both men as preachers were quite pragmatic about the literary value of their preaching. To them the important thing was not the production of great literature but getting the message across to the people in a language they could understand. What is particularly striking is that both works tacitly assume that the first and greatest task of the ministry is preaching and teaching¹.

¹ Another equally patristic theme which Zwingli unhesitatingly adopts is the importance that a preacher be legitimately sent and legitimately called. (We find this theme especially in the *Manuale curatorum*. Cf., R. Staehelin, Zwingli als Prediger, 7ff.) We should mention two other themes of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* which while less explicit in *Der Hirt* are important in early Reformed theology. Augustine tells us that the most important signs are words and that the sacraments are to be understood as visible words. (*De doctrina*, II, 4). Twice Augustine attacks "idolatry and superstition." We can easily see how the Reformers might have applied these passages to the use of statues and pictures in churches of their day. (*De Doctrina*, II, 30-37; III, 11-13).

A second patristic work known to the Reformers which emphasized the importance of preaching in worship is John Chrysostom's *On the Priesthood*. The primary concern of this work is the doctrine of the ministry but the liturgical implications are evident. Chrysostom speaks of the qualities of piety necessary to fulfill this heavenly ministry which in reality was established by the Paraclete Himself. This ministry is responsible for the celebration of the awe-inspiring mystery of the Holy Eucharist, a service so transcendent as to make us draw back in holy fear¹. By the holy hands of Christian ministers we participate in baptism, the mystery of new birth, and therefore these ministers are our spiritual fathers. The priesthood of the Old Covenant had only the power to cleanse leprosy which is merely a sickness of our natural bodies, but the priesthood of the New Covenant is able to take sin away from our souls². Having in such exalted rhetoric spoken of the sacramental responsibilities of the ministry, the golden-tongued patriarch goes on to speak of the ministry of the Word. His language is hardly less eloquent. First he compares the pastor to the physician who is entrusted with the care of the Body of Christ. The Body of Christ is so delicate and sensitive that the spiritual physician must pay careful attention. When, however, disease sets in the only medicine which he has is the Word.

Nay, there is but one method and way of healing appointed, after we have gone wrong, and that is, the powerful application of the Word. This is the one instrument, the only diet, the finest atmosphere. This takes the place of physic, cautery and cutting, and if it be needful to sear and amputate, this is the means which we must use, . . .³

He goes on to speak of the Apostle Paul as an example of how important preaching is to the apostolic office. One often claims that he was not a great orator, but that is not true, according to John Chrysostom. Perhaps he did not have the rhetorical polish of an Isocrates, but was it not because of his ability as an orator that he confounded the Jews of Damascus? If Paul had not been mighty in the Word would he have won the Areopagite in Athens?

¹ De sacerdote, III, 4.

² Ibid., 6.

³ Ibid., IV, 3. Translation from *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo and New York, 1886-1900). (Hereinafter referred to as NPNF), IX, 64.

How do we find him in Thessalonica and Corinth, in Ephesus and in Rome itself? Did he not spend whole nights and days in interpreting the Scriptures in their order?¹

Then he turns to speaking of the ministry of the Word in terms of its usefulness to the Church as the Bride of Christ. He speaks of the preaching of the Epistles of Paul:

For by the use of these, the bishops of the present day fit and fashion the chaste virgin, which St. Paul himself espoused to Christ, and conduct her to the state of spiritual beauty; . . . ²

Unlike many theologians of our day who never get around to studying rhetoric, the Reformers had studied the art of which John Chrysostom was such a master. The Reformers therefore understood far better than we the abiding relevance of the great Syrian orator. Undoubtedly they did not miss the obvious fact that for John Chrysostom the ministry was indeed the ministry of the Gospel.

A third Church Father who probably was influential on the preaching practice of the Reformers was Origen³. Not only did his sermons indicate that preaching had been an important part of his life's work but the various biographical reports by Jerome, Gregory Thaumaturgos and others give the same impression. Especially well known to the Reformers was the report of Origen's ministry of preaching and teaching found in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius⁴. From Eusebius we learn that Origen lectured on the Scriptures daily, that his commentaries were for the most part the shorthand reports of his lectures, that he took special pains to study the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and that even before his ordination he was invited by the bishop to preach at the liturgy⁵. Certainly the sort of daily preaching and teaching of

¹ De sacerdote, IV, 7. (NPNF, IX, 67).

² Ibid. (NPNF, IX, 68).

³ T.H.L. Parker credits Origen with having special influence on Protestant preaching. The Oracles of God, pp. 14-15 and 70.

⁴ We have clear quotations in later Reformed documents of Origen being considered an example for the office of doctor; for example, in the Hungarian Confession of 1562. Karl Müller, Bekenntnisschriften, 434. We imagine, however, that the first generation of Reformers had found Eusebius' report of the preaching activities of Origen just as edifying as Theodore Beza had found it in 1562.

⁵ Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, almost the whole of Book VI concerns Origen, but we call attention especially to the following passages: VI, viii, 6; VI, xiv, 10-xvi, 4; VI, xviii; VI, xix, 16; VI, xxiii-xvii; VI, xxxii.

the Scriptures which was set up in the Churches of Zurich, Strasbourg, and Geneva has a marked resemblance to the sort of activities in which Origen was engaged¹. Whatever else might have been said about the exegetical method of Origen, the Reformers could not have been other than inspired by Origen as an example of the learned Biblical scholar².

A fourth patristic source which influenced the preaching practice of the Reformers was the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus. This is above all true for the preaching of John Oecolampadius³. In the last chapter we have mentioned how at the time Oecolampadius began his preaching activities at the Cathedral of Augsburg he translated from the Greek a series of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus⁴. We suggested at the time that Oecolampadius was in a very intelligent way putting his humanistic studies to good use in helping him learn the art of preaching. Gregory of Nazianzus was one of the greatest orators of the ancient Church. His technique as an orator and rhetorician was unmatched. He used all the tools and devices of classic oratory with such mastery that his sermons are paradigms of the art of public speaking. The capital of the Christian Empire which was accustomed to hearing great oratory from men who had spent many years in the schools of rhetoric recognized in Gregory of Nazianzus the Christian Demosthenes⁵. We can well understand that Oecolam-

¹ One of the interesting parallels between Origen and Calvin is that some of the French refugees in Geneva made available the services of a stenographer, Denis Ragvneau, who during 1549-1560 recorded about 2,000 sermons. E. Mülhaupt, *Die Predigt Calvins*, 1-3; Cf., Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, xxiii.

² Origen's *De principiis* is, of course, one of the earliest attempts to write a treatise on hermaneutics. Cf., Fesenmayer, *LThK*, V, 459-465.

³ Ernst Staehelin has given us a very clear picture of how Oecolampadius used Gregory of Nazianzus as his example. *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 101-103.

⁴ These sermons appeared in two volumes: *De amandis pauperibus Gregorii Nazanzeni(?) episcopi et theologi sermo, eiusdem ad virginem admonitarius, eiusdem laudes Maccabaeorum*, interprete Joanne Oecolampadio, concionatore Augustensi (Augsburg: Grimm and Wirsung, 1519); and a short time later: *Divi Gregorii Nazanzeni eruditi aliquot et mirae frugis sermones: In Pascha; In dictum Matthaei . . . , Cap. XIX; Laudes Cypriani martyris, Oecolampadio interprete . . .* (Augsburg: Grimm and Wirsung, 1519).

⁵ Quasten, *Patrology*, III, 240-244.

padius found it profitable to study the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus in order to learn from him the art of preaching. Our more immediate concern, however, is what Oecolampadius learned about the important role which public preaching occupied in the life of the Church of Constantinople at the end of the fourth century. It is clear from the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus, as well as from those of his great successor, John Chrysostom, that liturgical preaching was a regular responsibility of the patriarch of Constantinople. In the collection of Gregory's sermons known to Oecolampadius we find numbers of liturgical sermons. His sermons for Christian holidays and his catechetical sermons are perhaps the most memorable¹.

As fifth example we find Pope Gregory the Great. As is well known, Calvin had much respect for Gregory the Great. In the Institutes he quotes the example of Gregory the Great to show us the importance of preaching in the pastoral ministry.

I do not refer to the custom of a single age only. For even in Gregory's time, when the Church had well-nigh collapsed (surely it had deteriorated much from its ancient purity), it was not tolerable for any bishop to refrain from preaching. "A bishop," he says somewhere, "dies, if no sound is heard from him; for he calls upon himself the wrath of the hidden Judge, if he goes about without the sound of preaching." And in another place: "When Paul testifies that he is clean of the blood of all (Acts 20:26), by this statement we are convicted, we are constrained, we are shown guilty - we who are called bishops, we who (besides possessing our own evils) add also the deaths of others. For we kill as many as we, lukewarm and silent, see going to their death each day." He calls himself and others "silent" for they were less constant in their work than they should have been. Since he spares not even those who half fulfilled their office, what do you think he would have done if anyone had ceased entirely? Therefore, it was a principle of long standing in the church that the primary duties of the bishop were to feed his people with the Word of God, or to build up the church publicly and privately with sound doctrine².

The text speaks for itself. Calvin as the other Reformers well knew that in the ancient Church preaching had been a regular part of worship.

As sixth and undoubtedly the most important patristic influence on the preaching of the Reformers we suggest the sermons of John Chrysostom. This

¹ For a full account of the liturgical setting of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus see Bardenhewer, *Altkirchliche Literatur*, III, 173-174.

² *Registri epistolarum*, I, xxv. (PL, LXXVII, 472-473) and *Homiliarum in Ezechielem*, I, xi, 9-10 (PL, LXXVI, 909-910). (LCC XX, 1071).

is particularly evident in regard to Zwingli. As is well known Zwingli began his ministry at Zurich with a series of sermons on the Gospel of Matthew which lasted well over a year. The citizens of Zurich received this preaching with unprecedented enthusiasm. A letter which Zwingli wrote to Myconius a month before taking up his duties in the Great Minster of Zurich announces his plan to preach the Gospel of Matthew in its entirety¹. On arriving in Zurich, Zwingli presented this plan to the minster chapter. When certain of those present objected that this *lectio continua* of Matthew would be an innovation, Zwingli, according to the report of Bullinger, replied that the homilies of Chrysostom and the sermons of Augustine on the Gospel of John represented the preaching of a *lectio continua*. We shall have occasion to speak of the passage again, but for the present, we shall be content to draw only one inference from this passage: Zwingli has taken the sermons of John Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew as the pattern of his preaching in his new post, just as Oecolampadius had taken those of Gregory of Nazianzus. This suggestion is supported by several facts. In the first place, we have a letter from Konrad Brunner addressed to Zwingli a year before he began his duties at the Great Minster, in which he tells Zwingli of Froben's recent publication of the works of John Chrysostom². As the editors of the *Corpus reformatorum* point out, a letter from Zwingli to Beatus Rhenanus shows he had at least by February 22, 1519, received the five volumes of the works of John Chrysostom³. The second piece of evidence is Zwingli's personal copy still to be found in the Central Library at Zurich. The rich marginal notes in the Reformer's own hand show a diligent study of the work. Particular evidence of this is given by the notes of textual criticism. This is especially the case for the first volume, which contains eighty-nine sermons on the Gospel of Matthew. It would seem then, not unreasonable to suggest that in the year preceding his preaching through the Gospel of Matthew he had carefully studied Chrysostom's sermons on Matthew and was sufficiently inspired by them to use them as a pattern for his preaching ministry the following year in Zurich.

Another interesting fact that suggests the influence of John Chrysostom is that the selection of New Testament books offered by Zwingli's edition of the

¹ "Convenerat apud me, quod praedicarem evangelistam Mattheum ex integro, . . ." CR, XCIV, 196.

² CR, XCIV, 73.

³ CR, XCIX, 160.

works of Chrysostom seems to have influenced the order in which he preached on the books of the New Testament. For more than a year Zwingli preached through the Gospel of Matthew. Then he turned to the Book of Acts simply because it continues the story. After the Book of Acts, he preached a long series of sermons on I Timothy. This rather surprising prominence given to I Timothy might well be explained by the fact that our preacher had found special inspiration in the sermons of John Chrysostom but unfortunately Froben's edition of 1517 offered series of sermons only on the Gospel of Matthew, the Gospel of John, the epistles of Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, I Timothy and II Timothy. After finishing I Timothy, Zwingli turned to Galatians, the two epistles of Peter and then he finishes the year with II Timothy. The following year he devotes to a long series on Hebrews; again we suggest that his decision was at least in part suggested by the availability of the sermons of Chrysostom¹. How else would one explain the fact that Zwingli preached a long series of sermons on both I and II Timothy and then preached an entire year on Hebrews and then only after a period of two years returned to preach for a mere six months on seven Pauline epistles: Romans, both the Corinthian letters, Philipians, the letters to the Thessalonians and Ephesians?² We believe it is more than coincidence that the books of Matthew, I and II Timothy and Hebrews occupy such an overwhelming proportion of Zwingli's preaching time. It would seem that Zwingli was using the available commentaries of John Chrysostom as a major source of his sermons.

In making preaching a regular part of the liturgy, the Reformers believed themselves not only to be obedient to Scripture, but also to be following the practice of the ancient Church.

¹ Any pastor who has preached a *lectio continua* will recognize the importance of this consideration.

² For a reconstruction of the plan of Zwingli's preaching see O. Farner, *Huldrych Zwingli*, II, 39-40.

Zwingli gave the reasons for his selection of books in his *Apologeticus Archeteles* of 1522 (CR, LXXXVIII, 284-286). These reasons are more theological than those we have suggested, but we feel that they in no way contradict the more practical reasons we have presented. One notices that R. Staehelin gives the same explanation (*Zwingli als Prediger*, 15) that we have given for the selection of Acts. He suggests that First and Second Peter were selected to show that Peter's Gospel was the same as Paul's, but he gives no explanation for the selection of I Timothy.

B. THE LECTIO CONTINUA¹

One of the most prominent features of the worship of the Reformed Church has always been the preaching of the Biblical books in course, that is preaching through a book of the Bible or a major section of a book of the Bible starting at the beginning and continuing through, chapter by chapter or even verse by verse, in such a way that the whole message of the sacred writing is presented in an orderly fashion over a series of weeks or months². Zurich, Basel, Strasbourg and Geneva all adopted the *lectio continua* at an early date in the

¹ On the subject of the lectionary in the synagogue and the ancient Church we mention the following works:

Anton Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends* (Münster in Westphalia, 1921). (Hereinafter referred to as *syrische Perikopenordnungen*).

Stephan Beissel, (S. J.), *Entstehung der Perikopen des römischen Messbuchs* (2nd ed.; Rome, 1967).

Alban Dold, (O. S. B.), *Das älteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche, ein altgallikanisches Lektionar des 5./6. Jh.* (Beuron, 1936).

Alban Dold, (O. S. B.), "Das Donaueschinger Comesfragment B II 7, ein neuer Textzeuge für die altüberlieferte liturgische Feier der Stationsfasttage Mittwoch und Freitag. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sonn- und Stationsfasttagesperikopen in der Zeit von Pfingsten bis zum Advent," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* (Münster in Westphalia). (Hereinafter referred to as JL.)

Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 155-205.

W.H. Frere, *Studies in early Roman Liturgy*, vol. II: *The Roman Gospel Lectionary* (Oxford, 1934).

G. Kretschmar, "Die frühe Geschichte der Jerusalemer Liturgie," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* (Kassel, n.d.) (Hereinafter referred to as JHL).

Gerhard Kunze, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung* (Göttingen, 1947).

Gerhard Kunze, "Die Lesungen," *Leiturgia*, 88-180.

Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, IV, 154-171.

G.G. Willis, *St. Augustine's Lectionary* (London, 1962).

Additional bibliographies are to be found in: RGG³, V 223-224 *Leiturgia*, II, 88-89.

² We do not feel that the sharp distinction made by Gerhard Kunze between a "Bahnlesung" and the *lectio continua* is justified. Kunze, "Die Lesungen," 89-90. The *Bahnlesung* is essentially a variation of the *lectio continua*. The point of each is to respect the Biblical order and context of a given passage rather than trying to fit smaller units of Scripture into a preestablished theological system set by the Christian year.

Reformation and it is unquestionably one of the most clear restorations of the form of worship of the early Church¹.

1. Zurich

We have already mentioned that Zwingli arrived in Zurich with the intention of preaching the Gospel of Matthew as a *lectio continua* and that when certain members of the chapter objected that this constituted a novelty he replied that it had been such a plan of preaching that Chrysostom had used and that it is the system that lay behind Augustine's sermons on the Gospel of John.

Bullinger reports the conversation as follows:

Soon Zwingli was called before a meeting of the chapter, having been told his duties he was accepted as pastor. He, however, after, of course, properly expressing this appreciation and assuring them of his best intentions, announced that he intended with God's help to preach the entire Gospel of Matthew, one passage after another, rather than following the usual lectionary of chopped up Sunday Gospels. He intended to explain the Scripture with the aid of Scripture rather than with human opinions. This he wished to do to the glory of God, in honor of his only Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the end that souls be saved and the pious be instructed.

Some members of the chapter were pleased with the suggestion. Others were afraid that it constituted an innovation and would therefore bring no good. To which he answered that it was in fact the old order for preaching in the Church and by no means an innovation. For as it is well known this was the plan used by the *Homiliae Chrysostomi* and the *Tractatus Augustini in Joannem*. In addition he could promise to bend every effort to execute his plan in such a Christian

¹ Jungmann is undoubtedly correct when he says: "Es ist bekannt, dass im Gottesdienst der alten Kirche die einzelnen Bücher der Heiligen Schrift fortlaufend, in der Weise der *lectio continua* gelesen wurden. Der sichtbarste Beleg dafür sind die umfangreichen Kommentare zu ganzen Büchern des Alten wie des neuen Testaments, die uns von verschiedenen Vätern überliefert sind und die nichts anderes sind als die schriftlich festgehaltenen Homilien, die sie im Anschluss an die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung gehalten haben. Die Beziehung zu dieser Lesung tritt dabei nicht selten deutlich ans Licht." Jungmann, MS, I, 510. We do not find Gerhard Kunze's denial of this very convincing. Essentially Kunze ends up by denying that the early gentile church had Scripture readings in worship. This we find hard to accept.

manner that no friend of evangelical truth could have any reason to complain¹.

We have no reason not to accept Bullinger's account of the conversation. From what we know of Zwingli's program of private studies such a remark seems quite natural. We have already given the evidence for Zwingli's study of the sermons of John Chrysostom the year preceding the beginning of his preaching ministry in Zurich. There is similar evidence for an early study of the sermons of Augustine on the Gospel of John². In 1527, Zwingli claims that eleven years before, that is in 1516, either at the end of his ministry in Glarus or at the beginning of his Einsiedeln period, he had first come to understand the Christian Gospel while he was engaged in a study of the Epistles of Paul and Augustine's sermons on the Gospel of John³.

If Zwingli began to preach the *lectio continua* under the inspiration of the Church Fathers, he continued it for practical reasons. It gave him first the opportunity to make a profound study of one Biblical book after another and

¹ "Bald ward Zwingli für propst und Capittel berüfft, und imm anzeigt sin schuld und pflicht, und hie mitt zum pfarrer angenommen. Er aber nach gebürlicher Danchsagung, und ambieten alles guten, aller trüw und redlichen, sagt under anderem, das er imm hätte fürgenommen, mit Gottes Hilff, zu predigen, das heilig Evangelium Matthaei, ganz, ein anderen nach, und nitt die Evangelia dominicalia zerstücket. Das wöllt er erkleren, mitt geschrifft, und nitt mitt menschen gutduncken, alles zu eeren Gott, sinem einigen Sun unserm Herren Jesu Christo, und Zu rächtem heyl der Seelen, und frommer biderber lüthen underrichtung.

Sömlich ambieten gefiel ettlichen imm Capittel fast wol, und warend dess froo. Die andern vermeintend sömliche änderung und nüwerung, würde wenig guts bringen. Welchen er sagt, das ware die allte gattung und dhein nüwerung zu predigen. Dann man wol wüsse, was die Homiliae Chrysostomi und die Tractatus Augustini in Joannem wärind. Darzu wöllte er sich flyssen, so Christenlich, zu handeln, das kein liebhaber göttlicher evangelischer warheit, einige rächtmässige ursach zu klagen haben werde.

Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte nach dem Autographon herausgegeben, ed. by J.J. Hottinger and H.H. Vögeli (3 vols.; Frauenfeld, 1938), I, 12.

² CR, XCII, 713-714.

³ In what we have to say about Zwingli in this chapter section, we have been drawing heavily on information gathered by Oskar Farner, Huldrych Zwingli, seine Verkündigung und ihre ersten Früchte. Indeed, it would be difficult to add substantially to his treatment of Zwingli's preaching. We would call special attention to his chapter on the lectionary, 29-56.

also gave him the means of opening up a theology that was more Biblical than systematic¹. Zwingli was quite ready to recommend this method of reading and preaching the Scriptures to other preachers. In January of 1523, at the First Disputation of Zurich, he recommended to his fellow pastors,

Let me encourage all the priests, both those in the city of Zurich and those in the country, . . . to start out by buying a New Testament either in Latin or German . . . let him start with the Gospel of Matthew, especially chapters five, six and seven. Then let him continue with the other gospels so that he knows what they have to say. After that let him take the Acts of the Apostles. Then let him continue with the letters of Paul, especially the letter to the Galatians and then the letters of Peter and the other holy writings².

2. Basel

Zwingli's advice did not fall on deaf ears. Already in November of 1519, Kasper Hedio, who at the time was vicar in St. Theodore's Church in Basel, writes to Zwingli telling him that he would also like to begin preaching through the Gospel of Matthew and would like Zwingli to explain his system more fully to him³. Two weeks later Hedio writes again asking Zwingli's advice on which commentaries to use. Hedio mentions the possibility of Origen whom he con-

¹ J.J. von Allmen is one of the few modern liturgists who has recognized the contemporary value of the *lectio continua*. See Jean Jacques von Allmen, *Preaching and Congregation*, trans. by B.L. Nicholas (Richmond, Va., 1962), 47-48.

² Quoted by Farner, *illud*, III, 44. The original text is to be found in CR LXXXVIII, 562-563.

"Desshalb will ich ermant haben alle die priester, so under minen herren vonn Zürich oder in iro lantschafft verpründt sind, das ein yetlicher sich flyss unnd arbeit, die göttlich geschryfft zü lesen, unnd insunder die, so prediger unnd seelsorger syent, kouff ein yeder ein nûw testament in latin oder in tütsch, wo er das latin nitt recht verstünd oder usslegen möchte. Dann ich mich ouch nitt schäm, das tütsch zü zyten ze lesen vonn wegen lichtlicher dargebung. Fach einer an ze lesen am ersten das euangelium Methei, insunders das 5., 6. und 7. capitel. Darnach less er die andern euangelisten, dass er doch weysst, wovonn sy schryben oder sagen. Nach dem nemm er für sich *acta apostolorum*. Darnach *epistolas Pauli*, sunder am ersten *ad Galatha*. Nach dem *sant Peters epistel* und ander götliche geschrift."

³ CR, XCIV, 215.

siders a man beyond comparison and also the commentary of Theophylactus, the tenth-century metropolitan of Bulgaria who was one of the classic exegetes of the Antiochian school¹. Unfortunately, we do not have Zwingli's answer to any of these letters. Later we learn that Hedio was interrupted from realizing his plan because of an unexpected change of pulpit². In a letter of March 17, 1520, we learn from Hedio that Capito, who had been cathedral preacher in Basel, had already begun to preach a *lectio continua* of the Gospel of Matthew³, when he accepted a call to become cathedral preacher at Mainz, where Albert of Brandenburg was the Cardinal Archbishop. Later Capito was to use the *lectio continua* in Mainz. Finally at the end of April we find that Hedio had indeed begun his series of sermons on Matthew, continuing the series of Capito where he had left off in chapter six⁴. From these letters it is evident that the reform minded preachers of Basel took over the practice of the *lectio continua* from Zwingli. Two of these preachers, Hedio and Capito later became Reformers in Strasbourg and introduced the practice there as well⁵.

From Ernst Staehelin we learn that by summer of 1520, the Franciscan Friary of Basel began to use the *lectio continua* of the Gospel of Matthew under the preaching of Johann Lüthard. Staehelin goes on to relate that according to Pellikan this preaching was prepared with the help of the ancient authors, Chrysostom, Jerome⁶, Augustine⁷, Origen⁸, and Hilary⁹. We find it hard to

¹ CR, XCIV, 225-226.

² CR, XCIV, 236-239.

³ CR, XCIV, 279.

⁴ CR, XCIV, 305.

⁵ Professor Ernst Staehelin has collected the documents regarding the introduction of the *lectio continua* into the Church of Basel. *Das Buch der Basler Reformation*, ed. by Ernst Staehelin (Basel, 1929), 30-34.

⁶ Pellikan, as guardian of the Franciscan Friary, was in a good position to advise Lüthard on patristic literature, for, as we have mentioned in the last chapter, he had worked on the Froben edition of the *Omnia opera* of Jerome. On Jerome's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew see Bardenhewer, *Altkirchliche Literatur*, III, 625.

⁷ Augustine did not produce a complete commentary on Matthew, although he produced several works which would be helpful to an exegesis of Matthew: *De consensu evangelistarum*, *Quaestionum evangeliorum*, *De sermone Domini in monte secundum Matthaeum*, and *Quaestionem septemdecim in evangelium secundum Matthaeum*. Cf., Bardenhewer, *alkirchliche Litteratur*, IV, 485-486.

⁸ Origen has left us portions of a commentary on Matthew. See Bardenhewer, *Altkirchliche Literatur*, II, 136 and 145.

⁹ Hilary's commentary on Matthew was of special interest to the theologians of Basel at the time as is evident from the fact that Erasmus edited the

imagine that Pellikan and Lüthard had not been able to figure out that at least some of the ancient commentaries they claimed to be using owed their existence to the preaching of a *lectio continua*. If Zwingli had been able to figure out that John Chrysostom's homilies on the Gospel of Matthew were based on a *lectio continua* certainly Pellikan could have. We have already spoken of Pellikan's special interest in the works of Augustine, without doubt he knew of Augustine's preaching in course of such books as Genesis and the Gospel of John¹, perhaps also the Gospel of Matthew², and the Epistle to the Romans³. Beside the fact that Pellikan undoubtedly knew that the *lectio continua* had been the practice of the ancient Church he probably knew the *lectio continua* to have been the practice of the synagogue as well⁴. Hermann Strack tells us that Pellikan was in close contact with the synagogue and was well versed in rabbinic literature⁵.

3. Strasbourg

We learn of the use of the *lectio continua* in the Church of Strasbourg from the text of the Strasbourg German Church Service of 1525. There we are told:

It should be pointed out here, that some of the pastors, instead of reading the appointed Gospels, and the same thing goes for the Epistles, take one of the four gospels and preach on it each Sunday. He explains a portion of a chapter each Sunday, in such a way that the continuing thought is preserved, rather than preaching on chopped-up fragments as is now the practice of the papal church⁶.

works of Hilary in 1523. Cf., Bardenhewer, *Altkirchliche Literatur*. III, 371-372.

¹ Cf., Willis, *St. Augustine's Lectionary*, 8.

² *Ibid.*, 43-45 and 72.

³ *Ibid.*, 9 and 73.

⁴ On the use of the *lectio continua* by the synagogue see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, IV, 154-171 and Elbogen, *Jüdischer Gottesdienst*, 155-184.

⁵ RE, XV, 108-111.

⁶ Hubert, *Liturgische Ordnungen*, 79. "Hye ist zu mercken, das etlich anstatt des euangelions (zugleich wie mit der epistel) ein evangelisten für sich nemen und alle suntag ein stuck eins capitels dem volck ausslegen, damit der verstandt aneinander hange, und nit ein solch stuckwerck sye, als dann yetz die papistisch kirch im gebrauch hat."

We can imagine, however, that even before this time both Capito, who was then the preacher at St. Peter the Younger, and Hedio, who was preacher at the Cathedral, had been preaching a *lectio continua* even if this meant doing so at some other service than the mass. What we find in the Strasbourg German Church Service of 1525 is an indication that the *lectio continua* was no longer simply being used as a program for regular morning or afternoon preaching services but for the eucharistic liturgy. The following year we find in a petition presented to the city council by Martin Bucer that he would like to see the *lectio continua* introduced for the Scripture readings at the office¹. He has particularly in mind morning prayers and vespers. Not only does he wish the books read in order but he wants the passages which are read explained for the benefit of the people. In the church constitution which Bucer prepared for the Church of Kassel in 1539, we find that for the ordinary celebration of Holy Communion on the Lord's Day the gospels are to be preached as a *lectio continua*. Each pastor in the city is to take one of the gospels and is to preach it according to its natural order, for this, he tells us, had been the usage of the ancient Church². Here is a clear statement that Bucer knew this Reformed liturgical usage to be in accordance with the custom of the ancient Church. He does not give us any further indication of just how he knew this to be the case, but we can imagine that he has the same sources in mind as Zwingli³.

4. Geneva

Erwin Mülhaupt has given us a most instructive chapter on the lectionary used in Geneva between 1549 and 1564⁴. He has gathered all the scattered

¹ ". . . das der psalter von anfang bis zu end gesungen werd, und also auch die biblischen buecher noch ordenung werden gelesen." BDS, II, 472.

² ". . . deren jeder pfarher ein für sich nemen und den selbigen nach ordnung, wie auch bei den alten in der Kirchen der brauch gewesen, . . ." BDS, VII, 281.

³ The editors of the BDS suggest the Apology of Justin Martyr, which is not a very good suggestion. They seem, unfortunately, to have relied on Gerhard Kunze for their information who is most anxious to deny precisely the point Bucer is making. Bucer, not Kunze, seems to have more correctly interpreted the practice of the ancient Church.

⁴ Erwin Mülhaupt, *Die Predigt Calvins*, 1-24.

quotations available as well as the dated manuscripts of sermons preserved in Geneva. With this he is able to make a calendar of the Scripture lessons and sermons for the last fourteen years of Calvin's ministry in Geneva. For morning prayers during the week it seems to have been the custom to preach the Old Testament. When we begin to learn in more detail about the lectionary in the middle of 1549, Calvin is in the process of preaching through the Book of Jeremiah. Toward the end of 1551, the Book of the Twelve Prophets was begun and continued to be preached for almost two years. Then followed a series on the prophet Ezekiel. In February of 1554, a series on the Book of Job was begun and this was followed by Deuteronomy and Isaiah. In February of 1559, Calvin began again with the Book of Genesis and by the time of his death five years later he had reached the Book of First Kings. It should be remembered that Calvin preached only every second week and that he was often relieved by other pastors. We imagine that the New Testament was preached at the vesper service by other pastors. On Sundays Calvin preached both mornings and afternoons. The mornings he seems always to have preached on the New Testament. Sunday afternoons he frequently preached on the Psalms. From the Fall of 1549 until January of 1554, Calvin preached through the Acts of the Apostles. From the end of March in 1554 until May of 1559 he preached through the Epistles of Paul, both for the Sunday morning service and the Sunday vesper service. From the Summer of 1559 until his death, he preached on the four Gospels in the morning. We are not sure what he preached on in the afternoon during these years. We do know that Calvin often preached special sermons for Easter and Pentecost. We also know that it was the custom in Geneva to preach from the passion narrative on the week before Easter¹. For both its order and its thoroughness the preaching ministry of the Genevan pastors is indeed impressive.

According to Mülhaupt, Calvin claimed to have taken over the system from Bucer². Nevertheless, we would like to leave open the possibility that Farel had started the *lectio continua* in Geneva at the same time he introduced other Reformed liturgical usages, but about this we cannot speak with cer-

¹ For further details see *Ibid.*, 12-19.

² *Ibid.*, 18.

tainty¹. At any rate, when Calvin came back from Strasbourg in 1541, he knew the system to have been well received and faithfully practiced not only in Strasbourg but in Basel and in other Reformed churches as well. Surely what had escaped neither Zwingli nor Bucer about the ancient Church's use of the *lectio continua* was patent to Calvin as well.

The adoption of the *lectio continua* is one of the most clear evidences that the Reformers knew themselves to have reestablished a practice of the ancient Church.

¹ We have taken note of Mülhaupt's explanation that it was the usual custom of the universities to lecture through whole books of the Bible. He draws attention to the fact that Calvin preaches on the harmony of the gospels rather than a single gospel. We would not want to totally rule out such an influence; however, Mülhaupt claims that Calvin took over the system from Bucer and we know Bucer to have claimed the system to have been that of the ancient Church. *Ibid.*, 18.

C. THE READING AND PREACHING FROM THE
OLD TESTAMENT¹

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Old Testament had for all practical purposes been lost from the regular worship of the Western Church. The one important exception was the chanting of the Psalms in the office. Another exception was the replacing of the Epistle with an Old Testament lesson during Lent. There were, of course, a few other places where the Old Testament could be found in vestigial form such as the Introit, Communion and Gradual, but for the most part even these had been reduced to one or two verses of the psalm that was appointed. In the Byzantine Church the long typological lessons of the Easter vigil were still in use, but the Easter vigil had gone out of favor in the West. This did not mean that the Old Testament had been forgotten. In the sculpture, mosaics and stained glass of medieval cathedrals one found such themes as the tree of Jesse, the kings of Judah, the days of creation and the lives of the patriarchs, but for the most part these only survived because of their typological importance. Normally, the faithful did not hear the Old Testament read in worship. The non-Chalcedonian

¹ In addition to the works we have mentioned at the beginning of the last chapter section, we mention the following:

Walter Bauer, *Der Wortgottesdienst der ältesten Christen* (Tübingen, 1930).

Anton Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten* (Paderborn, 1910).

Anton Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* (3rd ed.; Paris, 1953, pp. 123-143).

Anton Baumstark, *Nocturna laus, Typen frühchristlicher Vigilienfeiern und ihr Fortleben vor allem im römischen und monastischen Ritus*, ed. by Odilo Heiming (Münster in Westphalia, 1957).

Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, "Das Alte Testament als Bibel der Kirche vom Ausgang des Urchristentums bis zur Entstehung des Neuen Testaments," *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums, Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1963).

Johannes Leipoldt, *Der Gottesdienst der ältesten Kirche, jüdisch? griechisch? christlich?* (Leipzig, 1937).

Johannes Müller, *Martin Bucers Hermeneutik*, 200-226.

Alfred Rahlfs, *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche* (Göttingen, 1915). (Hereinafter referred to as *Lektionen*).

churches of Syria and the Church of Armenia had remained the only churches to faithfully continue to include the Old Testament in the lectionary¹.

This unfortunate loss did not long go unnoticed by the Reformers. In November of 1522, John Oecolampadius arrived in Basel as a refugee hoping to publish his recently finished translations of the sermons of John Chrysostom. The publisher Andreas Cratander gave him a position in his establishment which was then engaged in the publication of scholarly editions of the Church Fathers and other ancient literature. However, the talents of Oecolampadius could not long be confined to the publisher's office. Shortly after Easter in 1523, he began a series of lectures on the prophet Isaiah, explaining the Hebrew text to a large and enthusiastic assembly. To be sure, these were lectures, not sermons in the strictest sense of the word. This was however, two years before any liturgical reforms had been made. These "lectures" on Isaiah had an enormous significance for the Reformation of the city of Basel². They also went a long way in inspiring other Reformers to preach the Old Testament. What is especially interesting for us is that during the course of his Isaiah lectures, Oecolampadius published his translations of the sixty-six sermons of John Chrysostom on Genesis. Clearly Oecolampadius was aware that the ancient Church had preached the Old Testament³.

¹ We find in the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites three Old Testament lessons, one from the Law, one from the Wisdom Books and the third from the Prophets. This is complemented by a threefold New Testament lesson, from the Catholic epistles, the Pauline epistles and finally from the gospels. (Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 77). The Armenian liturgy, which in the sixth or seventh century adopted the lectionary of the Church of Jerusalem, contains a lesson from the Prophets, a lesson from the gospels, a lesson from the Acts of the Apostles, and a lesson from the epistles (Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 425). The Nestorian liturgy often preserves the fourfold readings found in the Apostolic Constitutions, that is, Law, Prophet, Epistle and Gospel. (Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 3). Baumstark, *syrische Perikopenordnungen*, pp. 8-77; Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. lix-lx. Some Nestorian lectionaries have changed the four lesson system to Old Testament, Acts, Epistle and Gospel. (Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. 255-261).

² Ernst Staehelin, *Das Buch der Basler Reformation* (Basel, 1929), 49.

³ Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 189-233. For further information on Oecolampadius' sermons and lectures on the books of the Old Testament: *Illud.*, pp. 396-428. For passages in Chrysostom's Genesis sermons which indicate the liturgical use of the Book of Genesis, see A. Rahlfs, *Lektionen*, 115-117.

We can well imagine that Pellikan's lectures on Genesis which seem to have begun sometime in the Summer of 1523 were not unrelated to the publication of Oecolampadius' edition of the sermons of John Chrysostom on Genesis that September. It is hard to imagine that he failed to consult the commentary on Genesis which his colleague and close friend was in the process of translating. Certainly he used Augustine's sermons on Genesis in preparing his lectures. We have already mentioned his work on the *Omnia opera* of Augustine. One can be sure, therefore, that Pellikan was well aware that the reading and preaching of the Old Testament was part of the liturgy of the ancient Church. If the Reformed practice of the *lectio continua* had its origin in Zurich, then it would seem that the Reformed Church's concern for preaching on the Old Testament must be traced to Basel. Soon, however, the Reformers of other cities followed the precedent.

In his book *Von dem Predigtamt*, Zwingli, in commenting on the text I Corinthians 14:26, "When you come together let each one have a hymn, a lesson, . . .," calls attention to the obvious fact that it would have been an Old Testament lesson that was read¹. According to Farner's reconstruction of the preaching plan of Zwingli, he began a systematic preaching of the book of Psalms toward the end of April in 1525 which lasted more than six months. One should call attention here to the institution in June of 1525 of the *Prophetzei*. This was a weekday morning service intended as a reform of the daily office. Following the *lectio continua* a passage of the Old Testament was studied at each session. Since the service was primarily directed to canons, curates and students, it was the Hebrew text that was studied². A year later he began with Genesis and seems to have preached through the historical books until March of 1528 when we know him to have begun his sermons on Isaiah which he finished on December 20, 1528. It is probable that he continued to preach on the Old Testament books until his death in

¹ CR, XCI, 394.

² Cf., F. Schmidt-Clausing, *Zwingli als Liturgiker*, 67-68.

1531. From what we can gather, Zwingli preached on the Old Testament for almost five years¹.

It is in the Church of Strasbourg that we see the first attempt to bring the Old Testament into the liturgy proper. In the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 (F) we find that the Epistle can be replaced by an Old Testament Lesson and the lesson is to be explained. Smend assigns this version of the Strasbourg Psalter to Wolfgang Capito². The concern for an Old Testament Lesson would seem to confirm Smend's suggestion for as we have noted above, Capito was an Old Testament scholar. He was, of course, in the very closest relations with his old friends and associates Oecolampadius and Pellikan who were busily expounding the books of the Old Testament in Basel. In fact, Capito saw to the publication of many of the Old Testament sermons and lectures of Oecolampadius³. We can well imagine that the rubrics concerning an Old Testament Lesson in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 (F) represent Capito's desire to follow the example of his colleagues in Basel. More about this lectionary of the Old Testament we do not know; however, we do know that in the same year Capito published a commentary on Hosea. This commentary may well be a reflection of Capito's Old Testament lessons. Capito, no less than Oecolampadius and Pellikan, was well aware that the reading and preaching of the Old Testament had a place in the worship of the ancient Church, for he wrote a commentary on the hexaemeron which as we have already remarked, is obviously modeled on the hexaemeric sermons of Basil and Ambrose.

The double Scripture reading suggested in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 is indeed a noteworthy feature. We do not know of many liturgies where there are two lessons, an Old Testament Lesson and a New Testament

¹ This does not mean, however, that Zurich did not hear the New Testament during all this period. While Zwingli was preaching his *lectio continua* on the Old Testament in the mornings at the Great Minster, Myconius was preaching a *lectio continua* on the Gospels at the Lady's Minster just across the river. Leo Jud was preaching a *lectio continua* at St. Peter's Church. It would seem logical to suggest that either he or Megander would have been preaching the Book of Acts. According to Farnier, we cannot say for certain whether Zwingli broke his *lectio continua* for the major holidays such as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. We do know that Zwingli was willing to depart from his preaching plan when special occasion demanded it. Farnier, Huldrych Zwingli, III, 45-53.

² Smend, *evangelischen deutschen Messen*, 158.

³ Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 407-408.

Lesson. The closest parallel we know to this arrangement is the liturgy described by Justin Martyr¹ in which the writings of the apostles and the prophets are read at the Sunday service of worship².

¹ Apology, I, 67.

² On the antiquity of the Old Testament lesson in Greek liturgies see Rahlfs, *Lektionen*, 123-126. Rahlfs supports his position through a comparison of lectionary manuscripts and a number of patristic quotations: e.g., Pseudo Dionysius, *Ecclesiastica hierarchia* III, 4, *Apostolic Constitutions*, II, 57 and VIII, 5; Maximus the Confessor, *Mystagogia* XXIII.

D. THE PRAYER FOR ILLUMINATION

The prayer which we are accustomed to call the Prayer for Illumination is one of the most significant elements in the Genevan Psalter of 1542. The text of the prayer is not given but rather the following rubric:

Then the minister commences again to pray, beseeching God for the Grace of His Holy Spirit, that His Word may be faithfully expounded to the honor of His name and the edification of the Church, and be received with such humility and obedience which it deserves. The form is left to the discretion of the minister¹.

Fortunately we have several examples of this prayer from Calvin. Thompson provides us with an example which may be regarded as typical:

Almighty and gracious Father, since our whole salvation standeth in our knowledge of thy Holy Word, strengthen us now by thy Holy Spirit that our hearts may be set free from all worldly thoughts and attachments of the flesh, so that we may hear and receive that same Word, and, recognizing thy gracious will for us, may love and serve thee with earnest delight, praising and glorifying thee in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen².

1. Zurich and Strasbourg Build on the Tradition of the

Manuale curatorum

This prayer underwent a considerable development in the almost twenty years that had gone by since the first Evangelical services of worship had been celebrated. In Zwingli's preaching service of 1525, we find the following rubric:

Let us earnestly beseech God that He will graciously open His holy and eternal Word to us poor men, and establish us in the knowledge of His will, and direct all who err in His Word to the right way again, so that we may live according to his divine pleasure³.

¹ Thompson, LWC, 198-199.

² Ibid., 209.

³ Ibid., 147.

This is then followed by intercessions for the civil authority in accordance with I Timothy 2:1-7 and then an intercession for those who are persecuted for the sake of his Word in accordance with Acts 12:5. The Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary follow. It would seem that here Zwingli is working within the tradition of the *Manuale curatorum*, as has been claimed by Waldenmaier and Schmidt-Clausing¹, although it is quite clear that Zwingli is developing the tradition considerably.

To be sure, the *Manuale curatorum* speaks of an *Invocatio divini auxilii*, to be pronounced at some time before the sermon, and that the people are to respond to this by the Hail Mary, but Surgant has nothing in mind but the reciting of the traditional "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."² Zwingli's prayer is obviously considerably more developed³. The similarity is not so much to be found in the text of the prayer or the point in the liturgy in which the prayer was to be said, but rather the fact that both Surgant and Zwingli felt that such a prayer was appropriate.

The Strasbourg liturgies offer a similar prayer. Here we fortunately have not only a rubric but the text of such a prayer itself:

Almighty, gracious Father, forasmuch as our whole salvation depends upon our true understanding of thy holy Word, grant to all of us that our hearts, being free from worldly affairs, may hear and apprehend thy holy Word with all diligence and faith, that we may rightly understand thy gracious will, cherish it, and live by it with all earnestness, to thy praise and honor; through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen⁴.

The content of this prayer is essentially the same as that of Zurich, the difference is that the Strasbourg Prayer for Illumination is not joined with prayers of intercession or the reciting of the Lord's Prayer. Also, we should note that while in Zurich the prayer is only to be found in the preaching service, in

¹ Schmidt-Clausing, Zwingli als Liturgiker, 87-88. Cf., also Waldenmaier, Gottesdienstordnungen, 132-137.

² *Manuale curatorum*, volio xxi^v.

³ One might also call attention to the Prayer for Illumination used at the Prophezei, the weekday morning Bible study sessions so characteristic of the Zurich Reformation. According to Schmidt-Clausing this prayer, which so admirably expressed Zwingli's doctrine of the Holy Spirit, is based on the Roman collect for the Feast of Pentecost. Schmidt-Clausing, "Das Prophezei-gebet, ein Blick in Zwinglis liturgische Werkstatt," *Zwingliana* XII (1964), 10-34.

⁴ Thompson, LWC, 170.

Strasbourg the Prayer is to be found in the eucharistic liturgy and that it has taken the place of the Collect.

2. Farel and the Exegetical Roots of the Prayer

In William Farel's Evangelical Service Book of 1533 we find another version of the Prayer for Illumination:

He who serves the people with the Word admonishes everyone to turn unto God, our most merciful Father, beseeching Him to send His Holy Spirit upon all men. They pray that He may delight to have mercy upon all kings, princes, and lords, upon all those whom He has established in dignity and authority by giving them the sword to punish the wicked and defend the good: that of His grace He may show compassion upon them, granting them His Holy Spirit, so that they exercise their office in a godly way, to the honor and glory of our Lord and to the benefit and welfare of their subjects. They pray for all who are gathered to hear the Word of truth: that our Lord may forgive every fault and sin, and grant His grace and His Spirit through whom comes the full understanding of all truth. Thus, in a pure and holy way one may be able to treat, expound and proclaim His Holy Word, and to hear, understand, receive and keep the same, accomplishing the will of His good Father. Of him they ask all things in the name of His only Son Jesus, saying as He has taught:

Our Father, who art in heaven. Hallowed be thy name, etc.¹

For the most part the prayer follows the outline of Zwingli's prayer particularly in joining the Prayer for Illumination to more general prayers of intercession and concluding by the Lord's Prayer. With special interest we notice the three-fold request for the gift of the Holy Spirit, first upon all men, then upon all those who rule, and finally upon the Church gathered to hear the Word.

In the margin we find several references to Scripture. Here we find perhaps the best indications of the exegetical roots which the Reformers understood our prayer to have. First we find a reference to Numbers 11, which tells of the Holy Spirit falling upon the elders of Israel who then begin to prophecy (Numbers 11:23). Both in the Old Testament and in the early Church, one of the chief manifestations of the gift of the Holy Spirit was ecstatic preaching. Both Saul and David are said to have had the Spirit fall upon them and to have

¹ Ibid., 216.

prophesied. The early Church was quite conscious of having once more received the Spirit of prophecy as we can see from the story of Pentecost in which Joel 2:28-32 is quoted, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and daughters shall prophesy." The same theme is found in Luke 4:18 where Jesus quotes Isaiah 61:1-2, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor."

Secondly, we have two references to Nehemiah. One of these is to chapter nine where we find Ezra's long prayer of confession. We imagine that Farel has in mind verse twenty, "Thou gavest thy good Spirit to instruct them" and verse thirty, "and didst warn them by thy Spirit through the prophets." Farel could have used more forceful verses to show the relation of the Holy Spirit to the ministry but perhaps to him the reform of Ezra and Nehemiah seemed particularly relevant to the situation of the Church in his own day. Farel's other reference to Nehemiah is even more appropriate. In Nehemiah 8:6 we find that the reading of the Law was begun with prayer¹. Here the Reformer of Neuchâtel has indeed laid hold of the traces of a liturgical tradition which the synagogue practiced long before the time of Christ². Without doubt this synagogue usage was taken over by the early Church, in certain areas, and is probably the root of the Prayer for Illumination which we find in certain Egyptian and Syrian liturgies. Two of these prayers, which are found in the Nestorian liturgy seem especially close to the synagogue usage because they retain the classical form of a Jewish berakah: "Blessed is God the Lord of all . . ." and "Glory be to the eternal mercy . . ." We shall return to this subject shortly.

¹ Farel was not the first Christian theologian to claim Nehemiah 8:6 as reason for beginning preaching with a prayer. Nicholas of Lyra, the fourteenth-century Franciscan exegete, tells us in his commentary on the passage that at the beginning of the preaching a prayer ought to be made imploring the grace of God, not only by the preacher but by the whole congregation as well. (*Postilla fratris Nicolai de Lyra cum additionibus pauli episcopi Burgensis* . . . (4 vols.; Nuremberg, 1493), I, folio 340^v.) As we shall show in Chapter V, Nicholas of Lyra was frequently read and highly respected by the Reformers.

² Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, IV, 157; Kurt Galling, *Das alte Testament deutsch*, vol. XII: *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia* (Göttingen, 1954), 233-234; Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 171-172.

Another passage which Farel mentions in the margin of his rubrics is the fourteenth and sixteenth chapters of the Gospel of John where Jesus promises to send the Holy Spirit to his disciples to lead them into all truth (John 14:26 and 16:13).

Finally Farel mentions Psalm 119. Again the verses are not mentioned, but the psalm is filled with short petitions for the right understanding of the Scriptures and for God's aid in living according to his Law. We might mention the following verses: 12, 17, 18, 27, 33, 34, 35, 37, 64, 105, 112, 124, 135, 144, 169. The Reformers always took very seriously the example of prayers which were found in the Scriptures. These short supplications found in Psalm 119 would surely have seemed worthy examples to be copied, and in fact we often find that the Prayer for Illumination is built on one of these verses of Psalm 119.

3. Calvin and the Theological Roots of the Prayer

With Calvin the prayer reaches a theological precision which we do not always find in the versions of his predecessors. The Prayer for Illumination is a good expression of Calvin's doctrine of the relation of Word and Spirit¹. For Calvin it was only through the work of the Holy Spirit that one could understand the Scriptures. We find this very clearly in Calvin's sermon on Luke 4:16-19, where Jesus reads in the synagogue the text, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me to preach good news to the poor." Calvin develops the text to show the importance of the work of the Holy Spirit to preaching. In the first place, comments Calvin, the ministry of teaching and preaching must have the gift of the Spirit or else the work is in vain. Accordingly, the prophets of the

¹ On Calvin's understanding of the relation of the Holy Spirit to Scripture see:

Wilhelm Niesel, *Die Theologie Calvins* (2nd ed.; Munich, 1957), 30-38.

Otto Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus* vol. III: *Reformierte Theologie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1926), 62-68.

Reinhold Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (2nd ed., 4 vols.; Leipzig, 1908-1920), IV/2, 566-570.

Old Testament were anointed by the Holy Spirit; it was in the power of the Holy Spirit that Jesus himself preached, and Timothy had received the gift of the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands. Secondly, it was necessary for the hearers of the Gospel to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit because flesh and blood cannot in their own power understand Christian teaching¹. In the Institutes he calls the Holy Spirit the key by which the treasures of the Kingdom of Heaven are opened to us, or again he calls the illumination of the Holy Spirit the soul's sense of sight².

One might say that just as the Epiclesis shows that the Eastern Orthodox Church does not have magical views of the Eucharist, so the Prayer for Illumination shows that the Reformed Church does not have a literalist understanding of the relation between the Bible and the Word of God. As Wilhelm Niesel has pointed out, it is Calvin's doctrine that the Holy Spirit makes the words of the Bible the living Word of God which separates Calvin from the literalistic doctrine of verbal inspiration of later Protestant scholasticism³. For Calvin it was not the words of the Bible printed in a book, but the Bible proclaimed by a preacher under the power of the Holy Spirit and received through the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit by the faithful with obedience which was the Word of God.

4. Patristic Roots

Having mentioned several historical, exegetical, and theological roots of this prayer let us ask what patristic roots this prayer might have. The Prayer for Illumination did not come from the Roman Mass of the late Middle Ages. Most Western liturgies have a collect based on the theme of the Christian year at this point in the service. It was, of course, only after the establishment of traditional lessons for each Sunday and the abandonment of the *lectio continua*, that the *de tempore* collects could appear. It is therefore in the sixth and seventh centuries that we find the beautiful collects of the Roman

¹ CR, LXXIC, 661.

² Inst. III, i, 4; cf., also Inst. I, vii, 4.

³ Niesel, *Die Theologie Calvins*, 30-38.

sacramentaries beginning to develop. Both the Lutheran and Anglican churches were content to translate many of these collects for the Christian year. The calendar collect is, however, a particularly Western development. The Byzantine liturgy reflects the themes of the calendar in the troparia, the short hymns which today are sung after the little entrance and are followed by the Trishagion and the Scripture readings, and in the sticharia, or the antiphons of the psalms. These however were also late in their development¹.

a) The Liturgies of Syria and Egypt

The Egyptian and the Syriac liturgies, however, do have a Prayer for Illumination and we find that this tradition is considerably older than the tradition of the *de tempore* collects. Bishop Serapion of Thumis gives us the following prayer:

We beseech Thee, Father of the only begotten, Lord of the universe, Artificer of creation, Maker of the things that have been made; we stretch forth clean hands and unfold our thoughts unto Thee, O Lord. We pray Thee, have compassion, spare, benefit, improve, increase us in virtue and faith and knowledge. Visit us, O Lord: to Thee we display our weaknesses. Be propitious and pity us altogether. Have pity, benefit this people, make it gentle and sober minded and clean; and send angelic powers that all this people may be holy and reverend. I beseech Thee send "holy Spirit" into our mind and give us grace to learn the divine scriptures from (the) Holy Spirit, to interpret cleanly and worthily, that all the laity here present may be helped; through Thy Only-begotten Jesus Christ in (the) Holy Spirit, through whom to Thee be glory and might both now and to all ages of the ages. Amen².

The prayer comes from about 340 A. D. Gregory Dix considers this a typical feature of the Egyptian liturgy and quotes a similar prayer in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark to show how this tradition continues on in the Egyptian Church. The Egyptian liturgies are not alone. The Syrian tradition also has a Prayer for Illumination. In the Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites we find the following prayer:

¹ Cf., Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1962), 171 ff.

² Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, (2nd ed.; London, 1960), 447.

Grant us, O Lord God, the knowledge of thy divine words and fill us with the understanding of thine holy Gospel and the riches of thy divine gifts and the indwelling of thine Holy Spirit and give us with joy to keep thine holy commandments and accomplish them and fulfill thy will and to be accounted worthy of the blessings and the mercies that are from thee now and at all times¹.

We find in the Nestorian liturgy a number of Prayers for Illumination. First there is a benediction which precedes the Scripture readings as a whole:

Blessed is God the Lord of all who maketh us wise with his holy teaching: and upon the reader and upon the hearers be his mercy outpoured at all times for ever².

There is a similar prayer which is said before the reading of the Epistle and finally a series of three Prayers for Illumination preceding the reading of the Gospel:

Thee, O BRIGHTNESS OF THE GLORY of the Father and EXPRESS IMAGE of the person of him that begat thee, who wast revealed in the body of our manhood and didst enlighten the darkness of our knowledge by the light of thy Gospel, we confess and worship and glorify at all times, Lord of all, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen.

Glory be to the eternal mercy which sent thee unto us, O Christ THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD and the life of all, for ever. Amen.

Make us wise by thy law, enlighten the motions (of our thoughts) by thy knowledge and sanctify our souls by thy truth and grant us to be obedient to thy words and to fulfill thy commandments at all times, Lord of all, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen³.

We are not, of course, going to suggest that Calvin or any of the other Reformers knew these prayers and patterned the Prayer for Illumination in the Reformed liturgies after the Prayer for Illumination in the ancient liturgies of Egypt and Syria. What can be said, however, is that the Prayer for Illumination used in the synagogue, about which the Reformers knew from the text of Nehemiah 8:6 had certainly been among the exegetical roots of the Reformed Prayer for Illumination. The Oriental Prayer for Illumination is probably a

¹ Brightman, *Liturgies*, 79.

² *Ibid.*, 255.

³ *Ibid.*, 258.

continuation of the same prayer of the synagogue¹. If there is a relation between the Nestorian prayer and the Reformed prayer it is not that of parent to child but rather the relation of second cousins three times removed. That is, both prayers are descended from the practice of the synagogue mentioned in Nehe-miah.

b) Augustine

Nevertheless, there is one relation of the Prayer for Illumination which is quite direct. The Reformers felt the need for some sort of prayer before the reading and preaching of the Word. We find the same need expressed by Surgant. It is not that the Reformers are particularly dependent upon Surgant but rather that Surgant is an expression of the school of theology in which these

¹ The similarity between these prayers of the Nestorian liturgy and the prayers of the synagogue is striking. We have already mentioned the similarity between the berakah spoken before the reading of the Torah and the berakoth to be found before the reading of the different lessons in the Nestorian liturgy. This tradition, however, may have another root in the synagogue service. We find a highly developed Prayer for Illumination before the reciting of the Shema. (For the text of these prayers, see David Hedegard, Seder R. Amran Gaon, (Lund, 1951), I, 46-51) In fact there are two prayers before the Shema. The first is a long prayer which blesses God for having created the light and all the heavenly luminaries. Toward the end of this prayer the Qedusha, or as we would say the Sanctus, is recited. The second prayer is a petition for understanding "to hear, to learn, to teach and to heed . . ." the Torah. In the Nestorian liturgy we find a similarity to these prayers before the Shema. We find in the Trishagion sung before the lessons a modified form of the Qedusha. The Trishagion is to be found in most Eastern liturgies. Before the first lesson there is a simple berakah but then before the reading of the Gospel we find the three prayers which we have mentioned above, the first of which confesses Christ as the brightness of the glory of the Father who has enlightened the darkness of our knowledge by the light of the Gospel. The second glorifies Christ the light of the world. The third prayer prays that we might become wise by the Law. Of course, it is not the Law of Moses which is meant, it is rather the new Torah, the Gospel of Christ, but everyone who used this liturgy understood that, so the old liturgical language did not need to be changed. We find that the thanksgiving for the Creation of the light is reflected by a thanksgiving for Christ who is the light of the world; the Qedusha is echoed by the Trishagion, and the prayer for understanding of the Law remains essentially the same. What is different of course is the order.

Reformers were brought up. The *Manuale curatorum* in its chapter on the *Invocatio divini auxilii* names a very specific patristic basis for the practice. Any theologian trained by the German Christian Humanists would have known the passage even if he had not read Surgant. It is to be found in the closing lines of the *De doctrina christiana*, that work so well known by the Reformers. Augustine says:

Whether one must speak before the Church or teach the congregation, dictating lessons either from that which the people want to read or are able to read, let him pray that God put a good word in his mouth. For if Queen Esther prayed before speaking to the King about the deliverance of her people, how much more ought he who works for the eternal salvation of men through preaching and teaching, pray that such a gift be granted him. Likewise those who are to be taught something from others should pray for those from whom they await instruction, that the truth they desire to learn be given to their teachers; . . .¹

We do not claim that the liturgy of the Church of Hippo in the days of Augustine actually had a Prayer for Illumination. This does not seem to be the case. It seems rather that Augustine had in mind more or less private prayers of those preparing for worship. But that is beside the point. If Surgant could quote this passage as a patristic basis for the *Invocatio divini auxilii* then there is no reason why the Reformers could not have been inspired by the same passage in their developing of the Prayer for Illumination.

We should note here that Augustine appeals to Biblical authority in his remark about Queen Esther. For our taste the interpretation is a bit contrived, nevertheless we shall have occasion to notice again that passages of Augustine which seem to have influenced the Reformed liturgy are passages which claim at least to be interpreting the Scriptures. The authority of the Bible is not the least bit compromised. Augustine's authority is based on the fact that he was a great interpreter of the Scriptures.

¹ "63. Sive autem apud populum vel apud quoslibet jamjamque dicturus, sive quod apud populum dicendum vel ab eis qui voluerint aut potuerint legendum, est dictaturus; oret ut Deus sermonem bonum det in os ejus. Si enim regina oravit Esther, pro auae gentis temporaria salute locutura apud regem, ut in os ejus Deus congruum sermonem daret (Esther, xiv, 13); quanto magis orare debet, ut tale munus accipiat, qui pro aeterna hominum salute in verbo et doctrina laborat? Illi vero qui ea dicturi sunt quae ab aliis acceperunt, et antequam accipiant, orent pro eis a, quibus accipiunt, ut eis detur quod per eos accipere volunt; . . ." *De doctrina christiana*, IV, xxx. PL, XXXIV, 120.

The patristic root of this prayer has not so much to do with its liturgical form as with the epicletic understanding of preaching which lies behind the liturgical form. As J.J. von Allmen has said, "There is no true preaching without epiclesis"¹. The truth of this insight was understood by the Reformers and expressed in their liturgy. No doubt they had learned it, at least in part, from Augustine.

¹ Preaching and Congregation, 31.

Chapter IV

THE PRAYERS

A. THE INVOCATION

The liturgy of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 begins with the Invocation, "Our help is in the name of the LORD, who made heaven and earth." Historically, this short epiclesis of the divine name is a heritage of the Roman Mass of the Middle Ages¹. Theologically, it recalls the oldest worship forms of the Biblical tradition. How often in the psalms we find prayer beginning with an invocation of the divine name. "O LORD, our Lord, how majestic is thy name in all the earth!" (Psalm 8:1) The Great Hallel of the Passover liturgy begins with the three-fold invocation of the holy name:

Praise the LORD!
Praise, O servants of the LORD,
Praise the name of the LORD!
Blessed be the name of the LORD
from this time forth and forever more!
From the rising of the sun to its setting
the name of the LORD is to be praised!
(Psalm 113:1-3)

The synagogue liturgy at the time of Jesus already included the Qedusha, a prayer which three times blesses, magnifies and sanctifies the divine name². Jesus taught his disciples to begin their prayer, "hallowed be thy name . . ." He promised to be with his disciples whenever they gathered together in his name (Matt. 18:20).

It was, therefore, that the Bern Service Book of 1529 was concerned that the congregation be gathered together in his name. "Let us begin in the name of the Lord"³. The text of this Invocation has a number of variations in the early Bernese liturgies. The Invocation of the baptismal liturgy in

¹ Jungmann, MS, I, 399-400.

² For the text of Qedusha see D. Hedegard, Seder R. Amran Gaon (Lund, 1951), I, 41-43. See also Elbogen, Der jüdische Gottesdienst, 92-95.

³ "so sye unnser anfang in dem nammen dess Herrenn." fol. Di^r.

the Bern Service Book of 1528 is even more explicit. "In God's name, Amen. Our help is in the Lord who made heaven and earth."¹ The baptismal liturgy of 1529 has "In God's name, Amen. Our help is in the power of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."² Still a further variation is to be found in the marriage service of 1529, "May your beginning be in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."³ From the variations of the text, it is clear that the Church of Bern has sensed a profound meaning in gathering the congregation together in the power of the divine name.

William Farel in the Neuchâtel Service Book of 1533 has also taken over this Invocation, at least for the baptismal and marriage services. He has decided on a text approaching that of Psalm 124:8. Nevertheless, his translation by using the subjunctive form of the verb has given an unmistakable epicletic nature to the verse. "May our help be in the name of God who made heaven and earth."⁴ As we have already had occasion to remark, the Neuchâtel Service Book of 1533 is a rather informal document. Although the text gives this Invocation only for the marriage and baptismal services it might well have been the case that in the actual celebration of the Lord's Supper Farel used this same Invocation. This would be the logical link between the Bern Service Book of 1529 and the Genevan Psalter of 1542.

Calvin has taken over this Invocation with considerable conviction as we see from a number of his writings. Twice in the preface of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 he speaks of the worshiping congregation as those "gathered together in his name."⁵ At the beginning of his chapter on prayer in the Institutes, he reminds us of the promise of Scripture that the Lord is near to all those who invoke his name in truth (Psalm 145:18)⁶. In his commentary on

¹ "In Gottes nammen, Amen. Unser hilff stadt in dem Herren, der himmel und erden geschaffen hat." fol. AiV.

² "In Gottes nammen, Amen. Unser hilff stadt in der kraft des herren, der himmel und erden geschaffen hat." fol. BviiiV.

³ "Und üwer anfang welle sin in dem nammen des Herrn, der himmel und erden beschaffen hat." fol. Bvi^r.

⁴ "Nostre ayde soit au nom de Dieu, qui a fait le ciel et la terre. Amen." p. 15.

⁵ ". . . nous convenons en son Nom, . . ." OS, II, 12; and ". . . quand ils conviennent au Nom de JESUS Christ." OS, II, 15.

⁶ Inst., III, xx, 3.

the Psalms, he tells us that the word "to invoke" means to celebrate God's name¹. In his commentary on Colossians, Calvin tells us that in all our actions and our undertakings we should begin with the invocation of the name of Christ². There are many more texts which might be quoted to show the importance of what J.J. von Allmen has called the "epicletic nature of worship." The importance given to the epicletic nature of worship in the liturgy of Geneva is clear when we see this Invocation in relation to three other invocations found in the service. The service begins with the invocation of the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth. In the Prayer for Illumination there is an invocation of the Holy Spirit that we might receive the Word of God. When the congregation comes together in the Prayer of Intercession, there is finally an invocation of the name of JESUS. The sequence is certainly not without its theological significance as any Eastern Orthodox theologian would immediately recognize.

The patristic roots of the Invocation cannot be traced to any of the Invocations of the divine name which one occasionally finds in ancient liturgies³.

¹ "Et verbum invocandi significat nomen Dei celebrare . . . " CR, LX, 198.

² Neither Calvin nor the New Testament are evidently too concerned about which divine name: Jesus, LORD, Christ, Lord Jesus, Lord Jesus Christ, or simply God. Calvin's commentary says "the name of Christ," the text on which he is actually commenting, Col. 3:17, says "the name of the Lord Jesus." The parallel passage in Ephesians says "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," (Eph. 5:20). The textual variants give further possibilities. It is interesting to note that in the text of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 the name Jesus is always written in capital letters: JESUS, as are other forms of the divine name at particularly meaningful moments in the liturgy as the word LORD in the Benediction.

³ The closest parallel which we have found is an invocation of the divine name at the beginning of the Nestorian liturgy. "The adorable and glorious name of thy glorious Trinity be worshipped, glorified, revered, exalted, confessed and blessed in heaven and in earth at all times, Lord of all, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, for ever." Brightman, *Liturgies*, 253. Even more interesting is the first prayer of the Nestorian liturgy. This prayer might be called a Christian Qedusha. This is especially striking when one considers that many scholars have traced the opening phrase of the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed by thy name, thy kingdom come," to the synagogue Qedusha of the time of Jesus. Brightman, *Liturgies*, 252; Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 93; Hedegard, *Seder R. Amran Gaon*, I, 41. The glorifying of the divine name is precisely the point of the Trishagion found in many oriental liturgies. See Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 169-170 on the significance of the invocation of the divine name in the liturgy of Serapion.

Nevertheless, Calvin's understanding of the importance of the invocation was certainly supported by his knowledge of John Chrysostom. We have just mentioned Calvin's comment on Colossians 3:17 that all our activities should begin with invocation. Calvin's remarks on this verse seem largely to be drawn from the commentary of John Chrysostom on the same passage:

Ver. 17. "And whatsoever ye do," he saith, "in word or in deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through Him."

For if we thus do, there will be nothing polluted, nothing unclean, wherever Christ is called on. If thou eat, if thou drink, if thou marry, if thou travel, do all in the name of God, that is, calling Him to aid thee: in everything first praying to Him, so take hold of thy business. Wouldest thou speak somewhat? Set this in front. For this cause we also place in front of our epistles the Name of the Lord. Wheresoever the Name of God is, all is auspicious. For if the names of Consuls make writings sure, much more doth the Name of Christ. Or he means this; after God say ye and do everything, do not introduce the Angels besides. Dost thou eat? Give thanks to God both before and afterwards. Dost thou sleep? Give thanks to God both before and afterwards. Launchest thou into the forum? Do the same -- nothing worldly, nothing of this life. Do all in the Name of the Lord, and all shall be prospered to thee. Whereonsoever the Name is placed, there all things are auspicious¹. (Homily IX on Colossians)

This passage may well help to explain why Reformed worship begins with the invocation of the divine name and ends with the benediction of the divine name.

¹ NPNF, XIII, 302. Interestingly enough, Calvin in his commentary on the previous verse, quotes from this same sermon of John Chrysostom. This would make it quite conclusive that Calvin is here dependent on the great Antiochian exegete.

B. THE PRAYER OF CONFESSION¹

The origin of this prayer has been the subject of much discussion. It was finally at the close of the last century that Erichson showed conclusively that the Prayer of Confession found in the Genevan Psalter of 1542 is derived from a prayer found in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537. The question about the source of the Strasbourg prayer on which Calvin based his work is a more complicated question. It is neither the original composition of a single Strasbourg Reformer nor the translation of a pre-Reformation Latin prayer. It is rather the result of an evolution within the Strasbourg Church of a Confiteor which expressed the faith of the Reformation. This is quite clear from the fact that several of the psalters call it a Confiteor². It would be a mistake to overlook either the originality of the prayer or to ignore its dependence upon the tradition of the late medieval Confiteor.

1. The Evolution of the Strasbourg Evangelical Confiteor

In tracing the evolution of this Strasbourg Evangelical Confiteor we should begin with a prayer found in the earliest German masses of 1524:

¹ We have found the following works especially helpful:

F. Cabrol, "Apologies," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, I, 2591-2599.

A. Erichson, *Die calvinische und altstrasburgische Gottesdienstordnung* (Strasbourg, 1894). (Hereinafter referred to as *Die calvinische Gottesdienstordnung*).

A. Erichson, "L'origine de la Confession des péchés dite de Calvin," *Revue Chrétienne* (1896), 167-179.

J.A. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Innsbruck, 1932).

B. Klaus, "Die Rüstgebete," *Leiturgia*, II, 524-535 and 538-558.

H.L. Kulp, "Das Gemeinde gebet im christlichen Gottesdienst," *Leiturgia*, II, 356-368.

A.B. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church* (Edinburgh, 1934), 98-100. (Hereinafter referred to as *Christian Worship*).

E. von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (Leipzig, 1901), 147-149 and 246-249.

² Hubert, *Liturgische Ordnungen*, 91.

Let us make confession unto the Lord God, for He is good and his mercy is everlasting.

Being a poor sinner, I confess to God the Almighty, that I have seriously sinned through the disobedience of his commandments, that I have done much which I ought not to have done, and that I have not done much which I should have done. This has come about through mistrust toward God and weakness in love toward my fellow man. I am sorry for my sin. Have mercy upon me for thy name's sake, and be gracious to a poor sinner for my sins are many. Amen.

It is a sure and true word, that Christ Jesus is come into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the first. Lord, this I believe, help my unbelief and give me thy blessing. Amen¹.

This prayer is very closely related to the two Confiteors quoted by Erichson or the Confiteor of Surgant which we shall quote presently. We notice two differences. First, the naming of the saints, which Jungmann considers one of its main features² has been omitted. It has therefore lost its character as a confession of unworthiness before the Church above and the Church below. Second, we notice that the prayer has begun to be influenced by passages of Scripture, Psalm 100:4-5, Psalm 25:11, I Timothy 1:15 and Mark 9:24.

In the following year we find a second stage in the evolution of the Prayer of Confession. A prayer is presented which shows several important developments as we can see from the following translation:

Almighty God, eternal and merciful Father, behold, we have been brought forth in impiety and in sin did our mothers conceive us. To thee we confess our sins and misdeeds. We have not believed thy word and we have turned aside from thy ways, a proud transgression is all our life. Remember thy mercy and goodness O Lord, which have been since the beginning of the world. Remember not the sins of our youth and our transgressions. Remember us according to thy mercy and according to the goodness of thy will! For thy name's sake, O Lord, pardon our transgressions for they are great. Have mercy upon us!

¹ Ibid., 57-58. "Bekennen (euch) gott, dem herren, dann er ist gut vnd sein barmhertzigkeit ist ewig (klagen an ewer leben vnd sprechen). (Vnd) ich armer sündler bekenne mich gott, dem almechtigen, das ich schwerlich gesündt hab durch übertretung seiner gebott, das ich vil gethon hab, das ich solt gelassen han, vnd vil gelassen, das ich solt(e) thon haben, durch vnglauben vnd misstreue gegen gott, vnd schwache der liebe gegen meynen mittdienern (vnd nechsten menschen), wie mich gott schuldig weist, ist mir leyd. Gnad mir, herr (vmb dynes names willen), biss barmhertzig mir armen sündler (wenn miner sünd sind fill), amen.

"Das ist ein gewiss vnd theur wort, das Christus Jesus komen ist in die welt, die sündler selig zu machen, deren ich der erst binn, das glaub ich, herr, hilf meynem vnglauben vnd mach mich selig, amen."

² Jungmann, MS, I, 390.

Be comforted, and rejoice and hear the good news of the Gospel: "If any man sin we have an advocate with God the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the reconciliation for our sin, and not for our sin alone, but also for the sin of the whole world. Believe the Gospel and live in peace. Amen¹.

First one notices that the change from first person singular to first person plural indicates that what had once been thought of as a personal prayer has now become a congregational prayer. Second, one notices that the prayer has been strongly shaped by penitential passages of Scripture. The invitation to prayer quotes from Isaiah 55:6, the allusion to Psalm 51 is unmistakable, and the last half of the prayer is a free quotation of Psalm 25:6-7, 11. The Assurance of Pardon is from I John 2:1. The Strasbourg Reformers are shaping their prayer after the model of Biblical prayers of confession.

We come to another stage in the evolution of the Prayer of Confession with the issuing of the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537. This psalter adds three new versions of the prayer². The first is a new combination of elements to be found for the most part in the two previous prayers. The second prayer is the Confession that was to be taken over by Calvin. We recognize immediately that this version is the result of much theological reflection on the nature of sin and forgiveness. The prayer has taken on a trinitarian form. We notice its

¹ Hubert, *Liturgische Ordnungen*, 77-78.

"Suchen den herren, dieweyl er zu finden ist; rieffen in an, dieweil er nahe ist! geben gott die eer vnd bekennen im euwere missthat vnd sprechen: allmechtiger, ewiger, barmhertziger gott vnd vatter! Sihe, in vntugent sind wir gmacht, vnd in sünden empfang vns vnser muter. Dir bekennen vnd veriehen wir alle vnser sünd vnd missethat. Deinen worten haben wir nit glaubs, vnd von dienen wegen sind wir abgewichen, ytel übertretten (-ung) ist vnser ganz leben. Gedenck, herr, an dyn barmhertzigkeit vnd an deine güte, die von der welt her gewesen ist (synd)! gedenck nit der sünd vnser jugent vnd vnser übertretung! gedenck aber vnser noch deiner barmhertzigkeit vmb deiner güter willen vnd vmb deines namens willen! (o) herr, sy gnedig vnserer missethat, die (da fast) gross ist (vnd erbarm dich vnser)!"

"Nun werden grüßet vnd sind frölich vnd hören das evangelium, eine gutte bottschaft:

"Ir bruder, so eyner gesündet hat, haben wir einen fürsprecher bey gott, dem vatter, Jesum Christum, den gerechten, vnd er ist ein versöhung für vnser sünd, nit aber für vnser allein, sunder auch für der gantzen welt sünd. Glau- ben dem evangelio (oder disen worten) vnd leben in fryden, amen."

² For the text of these three prayers, see Thompson, LWC, 168-170.

emphasis on the Holy Spirit, perhaps influenced by Psalm 51 and we note also the accent on dying to sin and living unto God, suggested perhaps by Romans 6. The third version is a long penitential meditation on the Ten Commandments and the seven deadly sins. We find a very similar form in the *Manuale curatorum*. The Reformers were not the only people who were long winded. Having traced the evolution of this prayer from 1524 to 1537 we are now in a position to better recognize its relation to the Confiteor.

2. The Roots of the Prayer of Confession in the Worship of the Medieval Church

a) The Confiteor

A number of Confiteors might be quoted as the liturgical ancestors of the Prayer of Confession. Erichson has already drawn the attention of liturgical scholars to a prayer in the *Breviarium argentinense* of 1511¹. The Confiteor found in the *Manuale curatorum* might with equal justice be quoted as a source of the Reformed Prayer of Confession.

That your prayer and other good works might be more acceptable to God, and that you might participate in the indulgence and grace which come from the Word of God and from this house of God, let us say an open confession with peaceful hearts and in making the sign of the cross.

I, a sinful man, admit my guilt to Almighty God, to Mary the merciful mother of God, to all the saints of God, and to you the priests. I have greatly sinned, with evil will, with evil words and works. Many good works I have neglected. In all my life, both secretly and openly, consciously and unconsciously, daily and forever. For this I am sorrowful. I forgive all those who have done harm to me. I pray thee O merciful God to forgive me all my sins, prolong my life that during this time I might receive thy divine grace. I pray thee O Mary mother of God, holy Lord, Saint (N. the patron of the church or the saint of the day) and all the holy saints of God, that you faithfully pray God for me. For I desire grace and indulgence for all my sins.

Bow your hearts to Almighty God in sorrow in desire for his divine grace and the forgiveness of sins.

¹ A. Erichson, *Die calvinische Gottesdienstordnung*, 28.

May Almighty God be merciful unto you, remitting all your sins and freeing you from all evil, and guiding you with all his saints unto eternal life. Amen. May the all powerful faithfulness and mercy of the Lord bestow upon you mercy and forgiveness. Amen¹.

The Confiteor is essentially a private prayer which does not belong to the liturgy but is rather a preparation for the liturgy. This is clear from the fact that it is always phrased in the first person singular. This is also clear from the fact that although the *Manuale curatorum* is written in Latin, the Confiteors are printed in German, they were prayers for the private devotions of the people, therefore, they were in German. If they had been for the Liturgy they would have been in Latin. The same thing is again made evident by the fact that Surgant gives six different forms of the Confiteor and suggests three different occasions on which the prayers may be recited. The Reformers were well aware that the Confiteor did not belong to the liturgy of the Roman Mass. This is clear from the fact that Clichtoveus' commentary on the mass which Wolfgang Capito had had printed in 1517 does not treat the Confiteor. It is also clear from the fact that some of the Strasbourg German masses of 1524 indicate that the mass was commonly considered to begin with the Introit². The Reformers knew it was not part of the liturgy but they very quickly made it part of the liturgy. It is in fact precisely the liturgical nature of the Strasbourg Prayer of Confession which makes it dis-

¹ *Manuale curatorum*, II, fol. lxxxiiiir.

"Vnd vmb das üwer gebett vnd ander gute werck got dem herre dester angenehmer syen, vnd ir ouch teilhaftig syent des abloss vnd der gnad so ir habet von dem wort gottes. Ouch vo disem gotzhuss, so sprechen üwer offen schuld mit rüwige hertzen vnd mit bezeichnung des heiligen crütz.

"Ich sündiger monsch gib mich schuldig got dem allmechtigen: Marien der barmhertzen mütter gottes. allen gottes heiligen vnd üch priester: das ich leidervil gesündet hab, mit bösem willen, mit bösen gedanken, bösen worten vnd wercke mit versummss vil guter wercken, wie es got an mich erkennt! in alle minem leben, es sye heimlich oder öffentlich, wissent oder vnwissent, teglich oder todtlich, das rüt mich vnd ist mir leit vo gantze hertze. Ich verzyg alle den die mir ye leid hat gethon. Ich bitt dich barmhertziger got versig mir all minsünd, vnd frist mir min lebe, vntze ich din gotlich gnad überkum. Ich bitt dich mütter gots Maria, heiliger herr sant, N. patronu ecclie nominade: vel scdm diei occurrente. vnd alle gottes heiligen das ir got den herren trüwlich für mich bitten. Dan ich beger gnad vnd abloss über all min sünd. Neigent üwere hertzen zu dem allmechtigen got mit rüwe, vnd begeret fin gotlich gnad vnd barmhertzikeit: vnd der sünden ablassung, et dic: Misereatur vestri omnipotens deus: & dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra: liberet vos ab omni malo: & cunctodiat vos cum sanctis suis in vitam eternam Amen. Indulgentiam & remissionem tribuat vobis omnipotens pius & misericors dominus: Amen."

² Hubert, *Liturgische Ordnungen*, 58.

tinct from the Roman Confiteor. The Protestant Prayer of Confession is not part of an entrance liturgy, but is an integral part of the liturgy itself.

The Confiteor is essentially a late occurrence. It is usually said that the form originated in the lands north of the Alps during the course of the ninth century. The Amiens Sacramentary shows us the beginning of a tendency of the celebrant to add a great number of private prayers to the text of the liturgy in the course of the celebration. For the most part they were of an introspective nature. For the next two centuries in the Frankish territories the mass began to develop the *apologia sacerdotis*, or personal confessions and attestations of unworthiness. By the eleventh century the practice began to disappear, leaving the Confiteor as one of the few vestiges¹. Jungmann gives the following prayer from Cluny toward the end of the eleventh century as one of the earliest examples of the Confiteor: "I confess to God and to all his saints and to you, father, that I have sinned in thought, word, and deed, alas my sin. I shall pray for you, you pray for me"².

b) The Kyrie eleison

However, if one is to find in the pre-Reformation liturgy the historical roots of the Prayer of Confession, one cannot point to the Confiteor alone. A close analysis of the Prayer of Confession shows that it is divided into two parts. The first half is a confession of sin closely related to the Confiteor, but the second half is a supplication for God's mercy more closely related to the Kyrie eleison. "Wherefore have mercy upon us, most gracious and merciful God and Father, through thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ. Grant to us and increase in us thy Holy Spirit." To be sure, this is not an exact translation of that short and simple Greek prayer, but the idea is essentially there, especially in the way the prayer of the Reformers unfolds the supplication for mercy in a trinitarian manner³.

¹ Jungmann, MS, I, 120ff.

² Jungmann, MS, I, 390. "Confiteor Deo et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis, pater, quia peccavi in cogitatione, locutione et opere, mea culpa. Precor vos, orate pro me."

³ Cf., the explanation given to the repetition of the Kyrie eleison given by Clichtoveus, *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum*, fol. 116^r.

The Kyrie eleison is, of course, a much older prayer than the Confiteor. The roots of this prayer are quite ancient particularly in the form of a simple repetition of the phrase Kyrie eleison three times, nine times or even more. Franz Joseph Dölger has shown that it was a popular prayer in the pre-Christian religions of Asia Minor and Egypt¹. The first evidence of the Kyrie eleison as a prayer in the Christian eucharistic liturgy comes from a sermon of John Chrysostom, in which he speaks of the mystery of God's mercy:

And the first prayer too is full of mercy, when we entreat for the energumens; and the second again, for others under penance seeking for much mercy; and the third also for ourselves, and this puts forward the innocent children of the people entreating God for mercy. For since we condemn ourselves for sins, for them that have sinned much and deserve to be blamed we ourselves cry; but for ourselves the children; for the imitators of whose simplicity the kingdom of heaven is reserved. For this image shows this, that they who are like those children, lowly and simple, these above all men are able to deliver the guilty by their prayers².
(In Matt. hom., LXXI, 4)

It is from about the same time that we have a full description of a litany to which the phrase Kyrie eleison is a response. For this we are indebted to the Gallic nun Etheria who has left us a description of the liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem from about the year 393. In describing the office she mentions that it is the custom for one of the deacons to call out the names of individuals for whom prayers have been requested. The children of the assembly answer with the cry, "Kyrie eleison." She then mentions the prayers for all men, for the catechumens, and then the prayers for the faithful. Although Etheria is speaking of the office rather than the eucharistic liturgy, the information which she gives us makes more clear the passage from Chrysostom.

About a century later, Pope Gelasius I (492-496) introduced a litany into the beginning of the Roman eucharistic liturgy. It was similar to those of Antioch and Jerusalem. In this litany a long list of intercessions was proposed by the deacon and the people responded with the Kyrie eleison. The Kyrie did not long remain in this form. By the end of the next century we find the following passage in a letter of Pope Gregory the Great to Bishop John of Syracuse:

¹ Sol salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum (Münster in Westphalia, 1926), 60-103.

² NPNF, X: Saint Chrysostom: Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew (Photolithographic edition, Grand Rapids, 1956), 435.

The Kyrie eleison, moreover, we have not said, nor do we say it as the Greeks say it:

Because the Greeks say it all together, with us it is first said by the clergy and repeated by the people. We alternate the Kyrie eleison with Christe eleison, but the Greeks do not say Christe eleison at all. In weekday masses we leave out the things which customarily are said, so that we say only Kyrie eleison and Christe eleison, so that we can continue these supplications a little longer¹. (Ep. LX, 12; PL LXXVII, 956)

Here we see that the litany is gradually being reduced to the simple repetition of the phrases Kyrie eleison and Christe eleison. With this change, however, the Kyrie loses its character of intercession and becomes what Callewaert has so appropriately called, "la supplication commune de tout l'assemblée chrétienne"². As we shall see, two of these documents, the sermon of John Chrysostom and the letter of Gregory the Great, were known to the Reformers and may well have had their influence on the liturgical reforms of the Church of Strasbourg. We shall have occasion to speak of them again.

3. The Exegetical Roots of the Prayer of Confession

According to Calvin

Calvin saw the Prayer of Confession primarily in its relation to the Biblical tradition of penitential prayer. In the chapter of the Institutes where Calvin attacks what he calls the Sorbonnists' doctrine of penitence, he makes it very clear that there are certain forms of confession which are essential for the Church to maintain. He speaks of the text, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness" (I John 1:9). He mentions the example of psalms 32, 42 and 51 and finally the

¹"Kyrie eleison autem nos neque diximus, nequa dicimus sicut a Graecis dicitur, quia in Graecis simul omnes dicunt, apud nos autem a clericis dicitur, et a populo respondetur, et totidem vicibus etiam (g) Christe eleison dicitur, quod apud Graecos nullo modo dicitur. In quotidianis autem missis aliqua quae dici solent tacemus, tantummodo Kyrie eleison et Christe eleison dicimus, ut in his deprecationis vocibus paulo diutius occupemur". (PL LXXVII, 956).

²"Les étapes de L'histoire du Kyrie," Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique, XXXVIII (1942), 43.

great prayer which Daniel offers for his people (Daniel 9:4-19). The Scriptures, Calvin assures us, are filled with examples of prayers of confession. These prayers are not by any means only to be spoken privately before God. Calvin also points to the fact that we also find public confessions of sin. He mentions the liturgical confession of the sins of Israel in the ritual of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:21) and the prayer of Ezra (Nehem. 9:6-37). Then Calvin speaks of the Prayer of Confession:

Concerning the ordinary confession which is done in common with the whole people, beside the fact that it is approved by the mouth of God, no one can despise it when one considers its utility, for then in every assembly that we make at the church we present ourselves before God and his angels, how can we better begin than by the recognition of our unworthiness? Perhaps some one would reply that we do that in all prayers, that is, that we always confess our sins in praying. But on the other hand, if one recognizes our nonchalance and self assurance, no one can deny that it is a holy ordinance and that it is useful to admonish the Christian people by such an express act of humiliation. Although of course the ceremony which God commanded for the people of Israel belongs to the elementary things of the law, nevertheless the thing itself is far more than merely elementary. As a matter of fact, we see that those churches which are well organized have adopted the custom that each Sunday the minister pronounces a confession, both in his own name and also in the name of the people, in order to show the guilt of the whole company before God, and demand pardon; this practice has certainly borne its fruit. In fact it serves as a key to open the door to prayer both in general and in particular¹.

Essentially Calvin finds his examples of penitential prayer in the Old Testament². The ancient Church, as we shall see, had done the same thing. But Calvin also shows us that Jesus, in the prayer which he taught his disciples, teaches us to recognize before God our guilt and poverty, and to confess our sins and ask for his forgiveness³. The Lord's Prayer makes it clear that confession and supplication belong not only to the psalms and the Old Testament, but also to Christian prayer. In another passage Calvin says:

In fact, the beginning and preparation of true prayer is to ask God's mercy in humble and open confession of our sins. For one cannot imagine that even the holiest of men receive anything from God until they have been graciously reconciled to him.

¹ Inst., III, iv, 11. See also Inst., III, iv, 6.

² Inst., III, xx, 3, 14-15.

³ Inst., III, xx, 45.

For God is favorable only to those whose offences he has pardoned. It is no wonder that the saints open the door of prayer with this key. This is especially clear from the psalms¹.

Throughout Calvin's long chapter on prayer it is forever clear that for him, as for centuries of monks who in the daily office have never ceased to sing the psalms of lamentation, the psalter is still the prayer book of the Christian Church. It is therefore above all to the psalms that Calvin turns for instruction in prayer.

Another passage of Scripture which undoubtedly influenced the thinking of Calvin on the subject of the Prayer of Confession is I Corinthians 11:27-29 where Paul directs the Corinthians to examine themselves before approaching the Lord's Table. In his *Petit traicté de la sainte cène* Calvin says that one of the necessary elements in a true celebration of the Lord's Supper is that we approach the Lord's Table with true repentance.

It is not without cause that Saint Paul speaks of such grave consequences to those who receive it unworthily. For if there is nothing in heaven or earth of greater worth or dignity than the body and blood of our Lord, it is not merely a slight mistake when one receives it unthinkingly or without being prepared. That is why he exhorts us to examine ourselves, so that we use it as is proper².

Calvin does not in this passage mention specifically the Prayer of Confession, but it would seem probable that he thought of this prayer as at least one way of expressing the penitential preparation which he considered so necessary to the true celebration of the Eucharist³.

For Calvin the Prayer of Confession belonged in the service of worship because confession was an essential element of prayer. This Calvin learned from the example of the Lord's Prayer, the psalms and the prayers of Ezra

¹ Inst., III, xx, 9.

² OS, I, 511. "Ce n'est pas doncq sans cause que saint Paul denonce une si grieve condamnation sus tous ceux qui le prendront indignement. Car s'il n'y a rien au ciel ne en la terre de plus grand prix et dignité que le corps et le sang du Seigneur, ce n'est pas petite faulte de le prendre inconsiderément, et sans estre bien préparé. Pourtant il nous exhorte de nous bien esprouver pour en user comme il appartient."

³ As we mentioned at the end of Chapter I, the Prayer of Confession, as well as the Dismissals, were for Calvin part of a larger concern, namely the concern to reestablish church discipline, a subject about which we shall speak again.

and Daniel. We have not as yet discovered any place where Calvin claims the example of the Fathers for the Prayer of Confession.

4. The Patristic Root of this Prayer

According to Bucer

Bucer, in his *Grund und Ursach* of 1525, says concerning the Prayer of Confession:

Our reason and basis in scripture is this: the beginning of Christian life is in confession that all our actions are sinful. It is for this reason that John the Baptist, Christ, and the apostles began their preaching with the call, "repent!" In the assembly of God's people the confession of sin has always been first, in the ancient Church it also preceded baptism, for at that time children were not normally baptized but rather only people who were capable of understanding. Therefore, we begin our service with a general confession of sin and supplication for grace¹.

The reason given by Bucer is not the liturgical practice of the ancient Church, but rather a teaching of Scripture. The Gospels begin with John's preaching of repentance. The same was true for Christ, "Jesus began to preach saying, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.'" (Matt. 4:17) On the day of Pentecost, Peter preached the same message. Before the Church can come together its members must turn aside from the ways of this world. There must be *Metanoia* before there can be *Synaxis*. The two practices of the ancient Church which Bucer then quotes are given by Bucer not as reasons for the practice of the Church of Strasbourg but rather as an illustration of how the ancient Church had also understood Biblical truth. This is typical of the Reformers' use of the literature of the ancient Church. The exegetical root is what is most important to the Reformers. A patristic root was of value because it could confirm a usage which had been established by Scripture.

¹ BDS, I, 247. "Unser grund und ursach auss der schrift ist diser: Der anfang Christlichs lebens ist bekennen, das alles unser thun sünd ist, darumb Johannes der täuffer, Christus und die Aposteln ire predigen an dem angefangen haben: bessert euch! (Mt. 3,2; 4,17; Act 2,38) und in den versamlungen gottes ist je und je die beicht der sünd das erst gewesen, die bey den alten auch dem tauff vorgangen ist, dann man gemeinklich nur die verstendigen, nit kinder geteufft hat. Darumb fahen wir unsern dienst auch an mit gemeiner bekantniss unser sünden und gnad bitten."

It is clearly in this sense that Bucer gives two reasons for the use of the Prayer of Confession which he has drawn from the literature of the ancient Church. The first of these is that "In the assembly of God's people the confession of sin has always been first." This statement presents us with a problem. Many liturgists, although by no means all liturgists, would disagree with Bucer in this matter¹. It is more generally believed that the worship service began simply with the Scripture lessons. We are not, however, so much concerned with whether Bucer was correct in this statement as we are interested in knowing why Bucer was of this opinion. Bucer's point of view is in fact quite understandable when we look at the patristic passages on which he probably based his opinion.

¹ G. Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, 125; C.D.F. Moule, *Worship in the New Testament*, 34-35. Gregory Dix goes so far as to claim that there was no prayer in the liturgy until after the catechumens had been dismissed (Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 41). It is true that all the prayers which today precede the Scripture readings can be shown to have been added to the liturgy after the time when the attendance of nonbaptised people became less frequent due to the increase of infant baptisms. As we have said, the Kyrie was introduced into the mass in its present place at the end of the fifth century and the Confiteor begins to develop in the ninth century. Certainly the liturgical documents of the fourth century indicate that the service began with the Scripture lessons. Justin Martyr indicates no kind of prayer before the lessons. All this would make a very strong argument if it were not that the *Didache* (IV, 14) admonishes "In the congregation thou shalt confess thy transgressions and thou shalt not betake thyself to prayer with an evil conscience" (*The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. by Kirsopp Lake (10th ed., 2 vols.; London, 1965), 317). A bit further on the *Didache* (XVI, 1) tells us "On the Lord's Day come together, break bread and hold Eucharist, after confessing your transgressions that your offering may be pure" (*The Apostolic Fathers*, 331). Mohlberg interprets this passage together with the letter of Pliny to Trajan to indicate that the early Church did have a prayer of confession at the beginning of the liturgy, "Carmen Christo," *Rivista di Archeologia Christiana*, XIV, 93. According to Mohlberg, this prayer dropped out of the liturgy at an early date. Possibly a trace of such a prayer is to be found in the confession of sin of the Church of Rome found in I Clement, LX, 1-2. According to E. von der Goltz, "Unsere ältesten Quellen für die Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes setzen das Sündenbekenntnis als einen Bestandteil des Gottesdienstes voraus . . . Das Gebet um Vergebung der Sünde bekam seine eigentlichste Stelle vor der Taufe oder am Eingang des Gottesdienstes als Fürbitte für die der Busse Bedürftigen" (*Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit*, 246-247). O. Michel tells us that in late Judaism the corporate confession of sin had already developed a fixed literary form (*ThWNT*, V, 204-205). A.B. Macdonald finds that the service of worship included a prayer of confession of sins at the end of the first century (*Christian Worship in the Primitive Church*, 100).

The first passage which we can assume Bucer to have known is Gregory the Great's letter to John of Syracuse which we have quoted above. As we have already said, it is one of the more important documents for establishing the history of the Kyrie. Bucer realized the liturgical importance of the document¹. Exactly how he interpreted the document is not quite as clear. He would obviously have understood from it that the Kyrie was at least in use by the end of the sixth century. Did he, however, accept this as evidence that the Kyrie or some similar prayer had always stood at the beginning of the liturgy? It seems possible, particularly in light of the other documents we shall quote.

The second patristic passage is from John Chrysostom's seventy-first sermon on the Gospel of Matthew. In chapters two and three we have shown how important these sermons of the great Eastern Father had been to the Reformers. The passage, which we quoted above, is also important for our knowledge of the Kyrie. This passage tells us that the first prayer which is offered in the liturgy is a supplication for mercy. Bucer might have understood the passage to say that this prayer began the service. Indeed, it is in such a way that Dölger has interpreted it². It is more probable, however, that Chrysostom had in mind the prayers for the catechumens at the time of their dismissal³. We can imagine that to Bucer it would have been unthinkable that worship was not begun with prayer. If Bucer assumed worship would begin with prayer, we can see why this passage from John Chrysostom would bring him to the conclusion that the service of worship of the ancient Church began with a prayer of confession and supplication for mercy.

There is a third passage which seems most certainly to have influenced Bucer during the earlier stages of liturgical revision in Strasbourg. This document is the famous letter of Pliny the Younger to the Emperor Trajan giving a very brief description of the worship of Bithynian Christians about the year 112 A.D. Toward the end of the *Grund und Ursach*, Bucer quotes this letter to show that the earliest Christians sang hymns in their worship⁴. We

¹ Summarischer vergriff, 59.

² Sol salutis, 87.

³ Brightman, *Liturgies*, 4-9, 472, 477 note 8.

⁴ BDS, I, 276.

can, therefore, be sure that Bucer was familiar with the passage. In this letter we find the following:

. . . and they sing a song in turns to Christ as to a god and bind themselves with an oath not to enter into any kind of evil, nor commit theft, robbery, nor adultery, nor fail to keep faith, nor deny a promise¹.

We can leave to others just what this actually does say about the worship of the early Church. The passage has been given an amazing number of interpretations². What interests us is how Bucer understood the passage. It may just be that he understood it to mean the worship of the early Christians of Asia Minor included some sort of recitation of the Ten Commandments and prayers for the grace to keep God's comandments. This would seem especially probable since we know that the singing of the Ten Commandments in connection with the Prayer of Confession was often a practice of early Reformed churches. The passage has, of course, given modern scholars such problems that we hesitate to make too many suggestions about how Bucer might have understood it³. Nevertheless this passage might help explain Bucer's belief that the Christian assembly always began with a Prayer of Confession.

Bucer gives as a second example of a Prayer of Confession in the worship of the ancient Church, the prayers of confession and supplications for grace which were offered before baptism. It is curious that Bucer should mention these prayers because a great deal of what we know about them has only recently been brought to light. The *Didache* indicates that the practice was well established by the end of the first century for the person who was to be baptized to prepare for the event with prayer and fasting: "And before the baptism let the baptizer and him

¹ "carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquid obstringere, sed ne furta ne latrocinia ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum adpellati abnegarent."

² For a recent review of the discussion together with an extensive bibliography, see the commentary on this letter by A.N. Shewin-White, *The Letters of Pliny, an Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford, 1966), 702-708.

³ There is some evidence that the first-century Church recited the Ten Commandments in the liturgy, cf., David Hedegard, *Seder R. Amran Gaon*, Part I, 52-53. The synagogue at the time of Jesus did include the reciting of the decalogue in its liturgy. Those who argue for a strong influence of the synagogue on the liturgy of the early Church would find it easy to use Pliny to support the theory that the Christian liturgy once included the reciting of the Ten Commandments.

who is to be baptized fast, and any others who are able. And thou shalt bid him who is to be baptized to fast one or two days before"¹. Although prayers are not specifically mentioned they are implied by the fasting. Justin Martyr gives us the further information that the candidates for baptism were taught to pray, and in fasting to demand of God the remission of their sins². We find a similar passage in Tertullian's *De baptismo*³. Then at the beginning of this century Theodore Schermann brought to our attention an Egyptian papyrus containing a prayer which he claims to belong to the age of Clement of Alexandria. He shows that it is a prayer meant to be said by catechumens preparing for baptism. The prayer begins with the praise of God who wills all men to be saved. It praises God for the redemption accomplished by Christ and freedom from the power of Satan. Then the catechumens ask God to strengthen them in their calling, and in the keeping of his commandments. God is asked for faith to believe the Gospel and grace to do the truth⁴. The prayer is strikingly similar to the Strasbourg Prayer of Confession. By the end of the fourth century, the Gallic nun Etheria supplies us with some further information on the prayers of preparation for baptism, although by this time the prayers had become less the prayers of the catechumens than prayers for the catechumens. We also notice that the prayers were beginning to take on the nature of an exorcism and the idea of confession of sin began to take a less prominent place⁵. With the fifth century the prayers of confession and supplication fall into disuse or perhaps to speak more correctly they are transformed into other rites so that any easily recognizable trace of them is hard to find⁶.

¹ Didache, VII, 4. ed. cit., p. 321.

² Apology, 61. For a study of this passage, see André Benoit, *Le baptême chrétien au second siècle* (Paris, 1953), 143 ff.

³ *De baptismo*, XX, 1.

⁴ Schermann, *Frühchristliche Vorbereitungsgebete zur Taufe*, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung, Heft 3 (Munich, 1917).

⁵ Ethérie, *Journal de Voyage*, ed. by Hélène Pétré (Paris, 1948), 256. For a discussion of this and related passages, see F.J. Dölger, *Der Exorcismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (Paderborn, 1909), 45 ff.

⁶ The further evolution of these prayers is treated in two most interesting works, H. Scheidt, *Die Taufwasserweihegebete* (Münster in Westphalia, 1935), 77 ff; and Per Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne église* (Leipzig und Uppsala, 1942), 33 ff.

Now the question is, where did Bucer find out about these prayers? The *Didache* was discovered in the last century, the pilgrim's journal of Etheria was discovered in 1884 and the papyrus document published by Schermann needed the skill of modern archaeologists to be uncovered. This leaves Justin Martyr's *Apology* and Tertullian's *De baptismo* as the two possible sources of Bucer's information. The edition of Tertullian which he undoubtedly used was that of Beatus Rhenanus published in Basel in 1521 and unfortunately the *De baptismo* is not included in this edition. Of course, Bucer could have run across a manuscript of the work somewhere. We do not know, however, of a manuscript that might have been available to him¹. The *Apology* of Justin Martyr is also a possible source of the information. Again we have the same problem. It would be another twenty years before Justin would be published. Had Bucer read a manuscript of Justin? At this time we can only say that we have not yet discovered the source of Bucer's obviously correct information.

The Prayer of Confession is a good example of how the worship of the Reformed Church has developed from many sources. The Reformers themselves saw the Scriptures as the source of the prayer. We find no reason to doubt their word. Nevertheless, we also find that another source for this prayer must be traced to the liturgical reforms of the late fifteenth-century Christian Humanists such as Johann Ulrich Surgant. The Roman Mass itself must not be overlooked as a source of the prayer. Finally, Bucer quite explicitly claimed two practices of the ancient Church as sources of the Prayer of Confession. About one of these sources he may have been mistaken; however, it is clear that Bucer's opinion on the matter need not be regarded as being without foundation. About the second of these sources there is no doubt at all. The existence of a Prayer of Confession before baptism, quite similar to the Strasbourg prayer has been demonstrated by a number of recent discoveries. Since Bucer is probably more

¹ Several sixteenth-century editions of the works of Tertullian did include the *De baptismo*. The first was the edition of Martin Meshart, published in Paris in 1545. Sigismundus Galenius issued another edition in Basel in 1550 for which he used *Codex Masburensis*. Both the manuscripts on which these editors based their text have been lost.

than anyone else responsible for the final literary form of the prayer, there is no reason not to take seriously Bucer's claim of a patristic root for this prayer¹.

¹ There is, however, a further implication in Bucer's basis for the Prayer of Confession which is most interesting. Bucer implies that the Prayer of Confession is a part of the liturgy made necessary by the fact of infant baptism. At the time when the Church normally baptized adults, the prayers of confession were part of the preparation of baptism. Now, when the Church normally baptizes infants, prayers of confession must be moved to another place in the worship of the church. As a matter of fact, this seems to be exactly the reason that led to the development of the prayers which precede the Scripture lessons in the mass of today. These prayers begin to appear at the time of the disappearance of the catechumenate. It would seem then, if we have not incorrectly interpreted Bucer, that he gives the same reason for the use of the Prayer of Confession as the history of the liturgy had given for the development of the Confiteor and the Kyrie eleison.

C. THE PRAYER OF INTERCESSION¹

The restoration of the Prayer of Intercession to the ordinary service of the Lord's Day was one of the most valuable liturgical reforms of the sixteenth century. In the West the "Prayer of the Faithful" had been lost from the ordinary dominical liturgy. Quite probably it had been removed from its traditional place between the sermon and the beginning of the communion service by Pope Gelasius in his liturgical reforms at the end of the fifth century. By way of compensation, he introduced a litany of intercession at the beginning of the mass and enlarged the element of intercession within the Eucharistic Prayer itself. By the end of the next century, the litany had been reduced to a simple reciting of the supplication, *Kyrie eleison*, as we have mentioned. This left the mass with only the intercessions within the Canon. An interesting historical vestige of the prayer was left in the liturgy of the presanctified on Good Friday. During the Middle Ages, various forms of general intercession were to be found in prone. On the other hand, the Byzantine liturgy, as most other Eastern liturgies, had never lost the great Prayer of Intercession. More recently, Roman Catholic scholars have recognized the loss their liturgy has suffered and have restored the intercessions of the faithful to the Roman liturgy. One wonders if they were aware of the precedent of the Reformation, but be that as it may, we Protestants cannot do other than applaud such a reform.

The history of the Prayer of Intercession in the Genevan Psalter of 1542 is similar to that of the Prayer of Confession in that it is essentially a translation of the Prayer of Intercession which appears for the first time in The Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 (J). This Strasbourg intercession

¹ F. Cabrol, "Litanies," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, IX, 1540-1571 (bibliography).

G. Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, 126-127.

O. Dietz, "Das allgemeine Kirchengebet," *Leiturgia*, II, 417-451.

I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 27-60.

J.A. Jungmann, *MS*, I, 614-628 and II, 191-199.

A.B. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church*, 100-106.

A.G. Martimort, *L'église en prière*, 358-360 (bibliography).

Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, IV, 208-249.

E. von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit*, 150-157, 192-207, 249-252.

represents an evolution from a much simpler Prayer of Intercession found in The Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 (F), which in turn developed from a Prayer of Intercession found in the earliest German masses of 1524¹.

1. The Historical Roots

a) The General Intercessions used at the Medieval Preaching Service as a Source of the Prayer of Intercession

It is quite natural that we should ask if the Prayer of Intercession has not come to us from the Prayer of Intercession which was used at prone. We have already indicated that we can easily see that the Prayer of Confession is to be seen in this tradition. Surgant's *Manuale curatorum* offers us an intercession which includes prayers on the following subjects: (1) For peace and good weather, (2) for the clergy, the pope, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops and priests, (3) for the civil authority, the emperor, princes and lords, (4) for knights and servants, and for the common life of land and people, (5) for the city of Basel and the Swiss Confederation, (6) for widows and orphans, (7) for pregnant women, (8) for hand workers, (9) for, those imprisoned and for those who persist in mortal sin, (10) for the sick, (11) for those suffering from poverty and adversity, (12) for those who have endowed the church in which the service is being held, and for pilgrims wherever they be along their way, and a prayer for the worshiper himself that he be ready when God calls him out of this world. This prayer continues with a number of intercessions for the dead, and at the end the priest admonishes the faithful to recite the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria².

Several differences between this prayer and the Prayer of Intercession of the Strasbourg liturgy stand out quite clearly. The prayer of the *Manuale*

¹ Possibly certain elements of the Strasbourg prayer should also be traced to a Prayer of Intercession found in an Augsburg service for morning prayer as early as 1529. For the text of this prayer see E. Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, XII, 37.

² Surgant, *Manuale curatorum*, fol. lxxvii^v-lxxix^v.

curatorum is a bidding prayer while the Strasbourg prayer is a common prayer said by the celebrant in the name of the congregation. Secondly, the Strasbourg prayer has a markedly different list of intercessions. The list of intercessions is much shorter in the Strasbourg psalters and those intercessions which are included are far more general. It has five intercessions: For the civil authority, for the ministry, for those outside the Church, for those suffering from affliction, and for growth in grace and the perfection of the saints. It would not seem that the Prayer of Intercession was too directly influenced by the intercessions of prone, although we would not want to discount its influence altogether¹.

b) The Mass as a Source of the Prayer of Intercession

It seems more probable that the Canon of the mass has had more influence on the prayer than did prone. In the earliest Strasbourg German masses of 1524, we find that the Canon of the mass has been replaced by a Prayer of Intercession with petitions for the civil authority and for the congregation. The intercession for the congregation is phrased in such a way that it leads naturally to the Communion. The intercessions are then followed by the Words of Institution. The texts of the German masses of 1524 make it quite clear that these intercessions are intended to replace the Canon. Directly before them we find the Preface, Sanctus, and Benedictus. In The Strasbourg German Mass VII (B) we find that the Prayer of Intercession is prefaced with the words, "Now follows the Canon"². One can see plainly what has happened. The revisor is not theologically offended by the first part of the Eucharistic Prayer with its elements of praise and thanksgiving, so the introductory dialogue, the

¹ We do find in other Reformed liturgies of the period Prayers of Intercession which show strong influence from the Manuale curatorum. The Reformed liturgy of the imperial free city of Augsburg from 1537 is a case in point (Sehling, Kirchenordnungen, XII, 70). Here, however, we notice that the Prayer of Intercession in question is for a preaching service and that for the communion service we find an entirely different form of the Prayer of Intercession (Sehling, Kirchenordnungen XII, 80-81).

² Hubert, Liturgische Ordnungen, 65.

Preface, the Sanctus and Benedictus are left intact. The Canon, however, was under heavy attack from all the Reformers, those of Lutheran direction as well as the South German Reformers. The main objection was the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice¹, but the objection to the intercession of the saints and the prayers for the dead was scarcely less important. After the revisor had expurgated the prayer of these ideas, he decided that what was left was a prayer of intercession. There were intercessions for the pope, the local bishop, the worshipers and in some areas for the king². As we shall show, the Reformers recast this prayer of intercession with the help of various passages of Scripture and the writings of the Fathers. As a general prayer of intercession this first attempt was rather sparse but with successive editions of the liturgy it was to grow into a most comprehensive Prayer of Intercession.

2. The Biblical Root of the Prayer of Intercession

What has obviously happened in the development of the Prayer of Intercession is that someone who was involved in shaping the prayer has searched the New Testament for passages of Scripture similar to I Timothy 2:1-8 which would indicate what subjects should specifically be included in the intercessions of the Church. It did not take the Reformers long to remember that the passage of I Timothy directing us to pray for kings and those in authority was not the only passage of Scripture which suggested the subject matter of the Church's

¹ Cf., Ulrich Beyer, *Abendmahl und Messe*, (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1965).

² The intercession for the civil authority has had a rather unsteady history in the Roman rite. With the breakdown of imperial authority in the West the prayer disappears, but in the Carolingian Age it begins to reappear. With the investiture dispute it once more begins to disappear. The version of the *Breviarium Constanziensis* printed in the *Corpus Reformatorum* includes the phrase *pro regem*. However, if the text of the mass which Zwingli really discusses has the phrase *pro regem*, his argument makes very little sense. It would seem that one of the reasons that the Reformers made such an issue of I Tim. 2:2 was that the Roman Mass which they were accustomed to use had no prayer for the civil authority. The question is, did the mass in southern Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century include the phrase *pro regem* in the intercessions of the Canon? With the reform of Pius V the *pro regem* was generally deleted except in Spain and Austria. Cf., Jungmann, *MS*, II, 197-199.

intercession. There are the words of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount which tell us to pray for our enemies (Matthew 5:44) as well as the admonition, "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send laborers into the vineyard," (Matthew 9:38). This is essentially a prayer for the ministry. In James 5 we are told to pray for the afflicted, in Philippians 4 we are told to pray for the needs of the Church, and in Ephesians 6 we are told to pray for the needs of our fellow Christians. We can easily demonstrate the way the Reformers had worked by putting the passages of Scripture in parallel columns with various sections of the Prayer of Intercession.

PRAYER FOR THE CIVIL AUTHORITY

Wherefore we beseech thee, O heavenly Father, for our most gracious rulers thy servants: our lord Emperor and King, and all princes and nobles, and the magistrates of this city. Grant unto them thy holy and right-sovereign Spirit, and ever increase the same in them, that they may acknowledge thee in true faith as the King of kings and Lord of all lords, and thy Son our Lord Jesus as Him to whom thou hast given all power in heaven and earth; and so may they rule over their subjects, the work of thy hand and the sheep of thy pasture, according to thy good pleasure, that we here and everywhere may lead a quiet peaceful life in all godliness and propriety and, being delivered from the fear of our enemies serve thee in all righteousness and holiness.

First of all then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made . . . for kings and all who are in high positions . . .

...that we ...
...may lead a quiet peaceful life,
godly and respectful in every way.
(1 Tim. 2 : 1-2)

PRAYER FOR THE MINISTRY¹

Moreover we beseech thee, O faithful Father and Saviour, for all

When he saw the crowds he had compassion on them, because they were

¹ Ephesians 6:19, in which Paul asks the prayer of the Ephesians that he might be able effectively to announce the mystery of the Gospel, would come under the category of prayers for the ministry. We find it in later Reformed liturgies in connection with prayers for the missionary work of the Church.

those whom thou has established over thy faithful people as pastors and curates of souls, and to whom thou hast entrusted the ministration of thy holy Gospel. Grant them thy Holy Spirit and increase the same in them, that they will be found faithful, and will always serve thee in such wise that thy poor erring lambs everywhere will be gathered to Christ thy Son, their chief shepherd and bishop, and daily be raised up in him unto all holiness and righteousness, to the eternal praise of thy name.

harassed and helpless like sheep without a shepherd. Then he said to his disciples, "The harvest is plentiful, but the laborers are few. Pray therefore the Lord of the harvest to send out laborers into his harvest."
(Matt. 9:36-38)

PRAYER FOR ALL MEN

Merciful God and gracious Father, we beseech thee further for all mankind. As it is thy will to be known as saviour to all the world, draw to thy Son, our Lord Jesus, those who are still estranged from Him.

First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men, . . . For it is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.
(1 Tim. 2:1, 3-4)

PRAYER FOR THE PERFECTION OF THE SAINTS

And those whom thou has drawn to Him and taught that through Him alone, our only Mediator, thou wilt pardon our sin and show every grace: grant that they may prosper daily in such knowledge, that, being filled with the fruit of all good works they may live without scandal, to thy praise and the edification of their neighbors, and await with sure hope the advent and the day of thy Son our Lord.

Pray at all times in the Spirit, with all prayer and supplication. To that end keep alert with all perseverance, making supplication for all the saints, . . . (Eph. 6:18)

And it is my prayer that your love may abound more and more, with knowledge and all discernment, so that you may approve what is excellent, and may be pure and blameless for the day of Christ, filled with the fruits of righteousness which come through Jesus Christ, to the glory and praise of God.
(Phil. 1:9-11)

PRAYER FOR THE AFFLICTED

And those whom thou holdest in special discipline, whom thou dost visit and chasten with poverty, misery, sickness, imprisonment, and other adversity: O Father of mercy and Lord of all consolation, enable them to perceive thy gracious, fatherly hand, that they may turn with their whole hearts to thee who alone dost chasten them, so that thou wilt comfort them as a Father and finally deliver them from all evil.

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our affliction, . . . You also must help us in prayer. (II Cor. 1:3-4, 11)

Is anyone among you suffering? Let him pray. . . . Is any among you sick? Let him call for the elders of the church, . . . the prayer of faith will save the sick man, . . . Therefore pray for one another . . .¹ pray for one another. (James 5:13-18)¹

As we see from this, a rather comprehensive prayer of intercession can be constructed simply on the basis of particular commandments or examples of the New Testament. No doubt to some this would seem excessively biblicist. However, an examination of several passages of Scripture which the Reformers used shows that these passages do quite probably reflect the liturgical practice of the primitive Church. The passages in Philippians¹ and II Corinthians 1 quite probably reflect a long liturgical prayer of intercession used by the early Church which was quite probably similar to the Tefilla or the Prayer of the Eighteen Benedictions used in the synagogue liturgy². I Timothy 2:1-8, the most

¹ James 5:13-18 would also indicate a prayer for rain. Most of the Prayers of Intercession of the Eastern Churches include such a prayer. We can understand why churches in the Rhine Valley might have hesitated to ask God to send even more rain. It evidently did not occur to them that a prayer for sunshine would have been just as acceptable to the spirit of Holy Writ.

² Cf., David Hedergard, Seder R. Amram Gaon, 70-121; Elbogen, Der jüdische Gottesdienst, 27-60. One could of course point to many similarities between the Tefilla and the Reformed Prayer of Intercession. First of all, there is the similarity of content, but more interesting than that is the way the Strasbourg prayer has combined elements of praise or "blessing" with the intercessions. One notices the way the doxological titles for Christ found in I Peter 2:25 and 5:4 have so appropriately been worked into the conclusion of the prayer for the ministry. The Eighteen Benedictions uses the same principle of fitting the formula of praise to the subject of petition. In the same way we find God is blessed as King of kings and Lord of lords in the prayer for the civil Authority and in the prayer for the afflicted God is addressed as Father of all mercies and God of all consolation.

influential passage on the formation of this prayer, may be regarded as part of an early attempt at compiling a Church order. The passage would seem to have been written with the intention of influencing liturgical practice¹.

This manner of composing a Prayer of Intercession on the basis of specific directives found in the New Testament is not due to a legalistic approach to Biblical authority, but rather to the Reformed understanding of the nature of prayer. The early Reformed theologians did not understand prayer as some sort of self-expression or as man's response to God but primarily as the work of God in the hearts of his people. It is the Spirit of God who prays within us. Scriptural prayers such as the Psalms and the Lord's Prayer and the Biblical admonitions to prayer such as I Timothy 2:1-8 were understood as the prayers of the Spirit. When we repeat these prayers it is the Spirit within us who cries, "Abba, Father." Prayer is a means of grace, a means by which God does something in our hearts. We pray out of obedience to God. We pray in the Spirit because it is the Spirit who gives the prayer.

3. The Patristic Sources

Such a strong influence of New Testament passages upon the text of the Strasbourg Prayer of Intercession does not lead us to deny a patristic influence. Certainly the Reformers knew that the Church of earlier centuries included general prayers of intercession in their regular worship. This information can be discovered from many writings of the Church Fathers that were easily accessible to the Reformers.

a) Ambrose

The *De sacramentis* of Ambrose of Milan may have influenced the earliest stages of the Strasbourg liturgical revision. We find a passage where

¹ Joachim Jeremias, *Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus. Das Neue Testament Deutsch* (Göttingen, 1963), 16-17.

the words of Ambrose concerning the prayers of the liturgy might well be understood to imply that the Eucharistic Prayer consisted of four parts, praise to God, the addressing of the prayer, intercessions, and finally the reciting of the Words of Institution.

For all the remaining things which have been said, have been said by the priest: praise to God, the addressing of the prayer, the intercessions for the people, for the king, and for the rest; but when it comes time to confect the venerable sacrament, then the priest does not use his own words but the words of Christ. Therefore by the word of Christ the sacrament is confected¹. (De sacramentis, IV, 14)

When we look at the Eucharistic Prayer of the earliest Strasbourg German masses, we find just such a fourfold division². First there is the prayer of praise in the Preface, Sanctus, and Benedictus; then there is an addressing of the prayer with its doxological recounting of the promises Christ has given his Church concerning prayer; thirdly there are the intercessions for the civil authority and for the congregation; finally the Words of Institution are recited. This arrangement did not last long, however. The later Strasbourg liturgies clearly set the intercessions in a position before the beginning of the Eucharist, although in Strasbourg at least the prayer never loses its character of pointing toward the Communion. One thing which this prayer makes abundantly clear is that the Reformed liturgy was never meant to be celebrated without the Lord's Supper. The intercessions all pray for the assembling of God's people at the Lord's Table.

b) Tertullian

Tertullian's Apology is certainly a source of the Reformers' knowledge of the Prayer of Intercession. This is especially the case in regard to the intercession for the civil authority. The author wishes to prove the respect of

¹ Nam et reliqua omnia quae dicuntur in superioribus a sacerdote dicuntur: laus deo, defertur oratio, petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro caeteris: ubi venit ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, iam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. PL, XVI, 440.

² Hubert, Liturgische Ordnungen, 64-69.

Christians for the emperor by the fact that they always prayed for him. Although the argument comprises the whole of chapters XXX and XXXI, the following lines are the most specific:

We always pray for all the emperors, that they might have a long life, a secure reign, a safe home, a strong army, a faithful senate, a serviceable people, a quiet world, and in fact all that either man or emperor could wish¹.
(Apology, XXX, 4)

Tertullian connects this prayer both with our Lord's command to pray for our enemies (Matthew 5:44) and Paul's instruction in the letter to Timothy to pray for the civil authority (I Timothy 2:2)². The Reformers, of course, had to disengage the passages of Scripture in such a way that they would recognize that the civil authority was at least nominally Christian.

Tertullian's Apology was a patristic work which enjoyed the special favor of the South German Reformers. The Apology was to be found in the 1521 edition of the works of Tertullian which Beatus Rhenanus had produced in Basel. Rhenanus was a close friend of all three Strasbourg Reformers as we have already said. Bucer seems to have studied the works of Tertullian shortly before writing the Grund und Ursach in 1524³. In the year 1527, he mentions Tertullian as a source of our knowledge of the worship of the ancient Church⁴. Hedio indicates by the fact that he translated the work into German in 1530 that the Reformers understood the work as being of considerable importance. Calvin quite possibly knew the work at an early date because the passage which we have mentioned may well be alluded to in his letter of dedication to Francis I⁵.

¹ Apology, XXX, 4. ". . . quia de pectore oramus, precantes sumus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, uitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quaecumque hominis et Caesaris uota sunt." (Corpus christianorum, series latina (Turnhold, 1954), I, 141).

² Apology, XXXI, 2-3.

³ BDS, I, 217.

⁴ BDS, II, 521.

⁵ OS, I, 35.

c) Augustine

A considerable amount of information can be gathered about the Prayer of Intercession from the writings of Augustine. Roetzer gives us a list of ten different passages which speak of the Prayer of Intercession¹. We mention only one of these passages because of its particular clarity on the one hand and because of its popularity with the Reformers on the other. This passage is found in one of Augustine's letters in which he is concerned with refuting the Pelagians².

. . . you hear the priest at the altar admonish the people to pray for the nonbelievers, that they be converted to believing, for the catechumens that they be stirred up to desire the new birth, and for the believers, that through faith they may persevere in that which they have begun . . .³
(Epistle CCXVII, 2)

Augustine's argument is that intercessions of the Church for both the non-believers and the believers show that one can neither receive faith nor persevere in the faith except by the grace of God. Calvin particularly, is not likely to have overlooked such a passage. From Luchsius Smits we learn that Calvin was particularly fond of quoting from this letter⁴.

The Prayer of Intercession is one of the clearest examples of the Reformers' use of patristic literature in their liturgical reforms. With the help of Ambrose, Augustine and Tertullian, they were able to restore to their worship an important form of prayer which had been lost from the Roman Mass.

¹ W. Roetzer, *Des Heiligen Augustinus Schriften als Liturgiegeschichtliche Quelle* (Munich, 1930), 114-115.

² The passage we quote is from Epistle CCXVII, but Augustine repeats this same argument in a number of other places in such a way that the same information can be gathered in the parallel passages as well. *De haeresibus*, LXXXVIII (PL, XLOO. 48); *De dono perseverantiae*, VI, 15 (PL, XLV, 1002); *De dono perseverantiae*, XXIII, 63 (PL, XLV, 1031).

³ "Dic ergo apertissime nos pro iis quibus Evangelium praedicamus, non debere orare ut credant, sed eis tantummodo praedicare. Exsere contra orationes Ecclesiae disputationes tuas: et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, et pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse coeperunt, ejus numere perseverent; . . ." (PL, XXXIII, 973-974).

⁴ L. Smits, *Augustin, II*, 186-187.

D. PSALMODY AND HYMNODY¹

In searching for the sources of Reformed psalmody and hymnody we are led back to the cities of Strasbourg, Augsburg, Constance and Geneva. From the very beginning, however, Reformed psalters and hymn books included works from such Lutheran sources as Wittenberg and Nuremberg. The hymn book has always had a tendency to be more ecumenical than the prayer book. Our interest, however, is primarily in how the earliest Reformed churches understood their use of psalms and hymns in worship. It is therefore that we must study four families of psalters and hymn books². The first of these is the Strasbourg family. Already, in the Strasbourg German Service Book of 1525 (C) we find a collection of metrical psalms by Strasbourg poets and musicians³. Matthew Greiter, the director of music at the cathedral and an early supporter of the

¹ The history of Evangelical hymnody is far from being a neglected field. A bibliography on the subject would therefore be most extensive. Consequently we mention three recent books all with extensive bibliographies.

Markus Jenny, *Geschichte des deutschschweizerischen evangelischen Gesangbuches im 16. Jahrhundert* (Basel, 1962). (Hereinafter referred to as *Geschichte*).

Leiturgia, IV: *Die Musik des evangelischen Gottesdienstes* (Kassel, 1961).

Le psautier huguenot du XVI^e siècle, ed. by Pierre Pidoux (3 vols.; Basel, 1962-1969).

² The bibliography of early Protestant hymn books and psalters is a most complicated study as the monumental works of Wackernagel and others have shown. The study is further complicated by the fact that great numbers of the early songbooks were simply worn out and have not come down to us. Often hymns were printed on separate sheets of paper long before they were included in collections. Fortunately, a number of these early psalters have been issued in facsimile editions.

Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques mys en chant (Strasbourg, 1539) (Phototypographic facsimile edition: Geneva, 1919).

La forme des prières et chants ecclésiastiques (Geneva, 1542) (phototypographic facsimile edition ed. by Pierre Pidoux: Kassel and Basel, 1959).

Nüw gsangbüchle . . . Constenz . . . D.M. XL. (phototypographic facsimile edition: Zurich, 1946).

Teutsch Kirchen ampt mit lobgsengen und götlichen psalmen . . . (facsimile edition by Karl Reinthaler: Erfurt, 1848).

³ *Teutsch Kirchen ampt mit lobgesengen und götlichen psalmen wie es die gemein zu Strassburg singt unn halt mit mer gantz Christlichen gebetten dann vorgetruckt* (Strasbourg: Wolf Köppel, 1525).

Reformation as well as the renowned sixteenth-century organist Wolfgang Dachstein produced a number of memorable psalm versions. Ludwig Oehler began a systematic translation of the psalter and the first eight of his attempts are included. With each succeeding edition or reprint of the Strasbourg liturgy the collection of psalms was increased. Especially notable are the additions of metrical versions of the Lord's Prayer and the Magnificat by the Strasbourg pastor Symphronius Pollio, which appear in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 (F). In the Strasbourg Psalter of 1530 (G) we find a collection of New Testament canticles put in meter by the young Strasbourg pastor Johannes Englisch. With the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 (J) we find the first sizeable collection of hymns not taken from Scripture. Among these "hymns of merely human composure" are those for the evangelical festivals which the Strasbourg Reformers had borrowed from Constance. The second family is that of Augsburg. In chapter one we spoke of the Augsburg Psalter of 1530-1531 and remarked at the quality and size of this collection¹. Thirdly there is the Constance family of hymn books². Markus Jenny has given evidence for the existence of an edition as early as 1533 and has identified an undated fragment of another edition as being from 1537. The first complete edition which has come down to us is the Constance Hymn Book of 1540. This hymn book is beyond doubt one of the most important monuments in the history of Reformed liturgy. The preface written by Johannes Zwick is a notable defence of the use of psalmody and hymnody in Evangelical worship. The volume contains over 150 pieces from such poets as Ambrosius Blarer, Hans Sachs, Heinrich Vogtherr, Ulrich Zwingli, Johannes Agricola, Jakob Dachser, Johannes Englisch, Johannes Zwick, Justus Jonas, Leo Jud, Ludwig Oehler, Mattheus Greiter, Martin Luther, Thomas Blarer, Wolfgang Capito, Wolfgang Dachstein and Wolfgang Musculus. About half the book is taken up with psalms; the other half contains hymns having to do with the sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion, the evangelical festivals, hymns for children, hymns for morning and evening, the New Testament canticles, and other pieces of the Scripture put to music such as the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes. In

¹ We regret that more work has not been expended on the Augsburg psalter. A short bibliography on the available material is to be found in Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, XII, 26-27, note 35.

² Markus Jenny, *Geschichte*, 77-122.

1548, the Reformation was suppressed in Constance, but the Church of Basel continued to use the hymn book of Constance until as late as 1581. Finally there is the Genevan family which begins with the French Evangelical Psalm Book of 1539 and continues to grow into the Genevan Psalter of 1542. To the hymnody of these two publications we have already devoted considerable space.

Because the study of hymnology and indeed church music in general has developed into such a highly developed science we may restrain our considerations to those matters which are primarily liturgical. We shall investigate, therefore, the following three subjects. First, the doxological function of psalmody and hymnody in the liturgy of the Reformed Church; secondly, the preference for psalmody; and thirdly, the general disapproval of the Reformed Church for an elaborate musical accompaniment of its psalmody and hymnody.

1. The Doxological Function of Psalmody

While the Christian Church has always included psalms and hymns in its worship, it has quite often done so for very different reasons. It is often understood as a decoration of the service of worship, a way of achieving splendor, or perhaps as the means of giving the bitter pill of religion the chocolate coating of either culture or entertainment. At other times it has been understood as a way of achieving "audience participation" or a means of getting the people to respond to the preaching or praying of the pastor. At still other times it has been understood as being primarily a means of expressing the theme of the sermon or the "Christian year," thus making it a pedagogical device¹. However, in the early Reformed worship, the singing of hymns – but more especially the singing of psalms – was understood first of all as the praise of the Church to its Lord. It is in no way dependent upon the preaching or secondary to the

¹ The Reformers did, of course, understand the psalms to have a teaching value as did all Scripture. This was the case when the psalms were preached upon or when they were used in private devotions. When sung in worship, however, this function is secondary. Often Calvin simply refers to the psalmody and hymnody of the Church as "the praises" (les louanges). Cf., OS, II, 15.

preaching. Nor is it to be understood as the frame in which the properly liturgical action is set. Praise is an essential action of the liturgy. Praise has its own unique function in the liturgy just as preaching or communion does. It is not, of course, that any of the elements of the service of worship are independent of each other. They are all of course interrelated. The point is, rather, that the singing of hymns and psalms of praise and thanksgiving is, and has always been, a central element in Biblical worship. This was true for the worship of the Old Testament and it was certainly true for the worship of the ancient Church¹. Psalmody is not primarily thematic, decorative, or didactic, but doxological. The great care which the early Reformed Church paid to the development of Psalmody was motivated by a desire to re-emphasize the doxological nature of the liturgy.

It is quite evident from examining the sixteenth-century texts that Reformed psalmody has a strong historical root in the celebration of the daily office. We would expect this above all in Strasbourg where the office was said daily in the cathedral as well as in a number of friaries and convents. The Strasbourg Reformers wished to reform the saying of the office by introducing preaching and by translating the psalms into versions that could be sung in German². The continuation of the office is to be found in the daily morning and evening services held, at least until more recent times, in most Reformed cities. These services consisted of preaching, the singing of psalms and the saying of prayers.

Aside from this historical root there was, of course, an exegetical root. It would not take any particular ingenuity to find numerous passages of both the Old and New Testaments which enjoin the singing of psalms, hymns and spiritual songs. Johannes Zwick, in the preface to the Constance Hymnbook of 1540, calls on a list of Scripture passages similar to those found in the works of many Reformers. First there is the example of the children of Israel who sang a hymn of praise to God when they had passed through the Red Sea (Exodus 15:1-18). From the standpoint of typological exegesis, this example was particularly apt. The example of David is quoted as well as the other Old Testament

¹ Regarding the worship of the New Testament Church Delling says, ". . . it is plain that alongside kerygma and doctrine and 'spiritual' utterances in the narrower sense, a not insignificant place is given to praising, glorifying and giving thanks to God, . . ." Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, 86.

² On the reforming of the office in Strasbourg see BDS, II, 466-467, 470-472, 528-531, 542-543, et alia.

saints. The text which the Reformers most frequently cited was Ephesians 5:18-20:

. . . be filled with the Spirit, addressing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart, always and for everything giving thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father.

Zwicky also alludes to the Epistle of James 5:13, "Is anyone among you suffering? Let him pray. Is any cheerful? Let him sing praise." One might also translate, "Let him sing psalms"¹. Perhaps the most convincing passage of Scripture in support of the singing of psalms in the liturgy is a passage called to our attention by Zwingli. Mark 14:26 tells us that at the end of the Last Supper Jesus and his disciples sang a hymn. As we shall show in chapter five, the Reformers believed this hymn to have been psalms 113-118². We notice particularly that this selection of Scripture passages could not do other than bring into sharp focus the doxological nature of psalmody.

This attitude of the Reformers was greatly encouraged by their knowledge of the literature of the ancient Church. Countless passages of the Fathers could be quoted which indicate that the ancient Church was accustomed to singing psalms in praise to God. In the *Grund und Ursach* at the very beginning of the liturgical reform, Bucer tells us that not only do the Scriptures teach us to sing psalms and hymns in praise of God but also the example of the ancient Church leads us to the same practice. The Church, Bucer tells us,

. . . has always praised God in song. It is to this end especially that the psalms have been used; this we learn not only from the writings of Paul and our own historians but the pagan writer Pliny the Younger as well³.

Johannes Zwicky in the *Constance Hymnbook* of 1540 understands Pliny in much the same way:

¹ ψάλλω

² CR, XCI, 23; BDS, I, 276.

³ . . . die alweg got auch mit gesang gelobet haben. Dazuo dan die psalmen sonderlich gebraucht seind, Des wir nit allein in schrifft Pauli und unsern hystorien sonder auch der heyden schrifft als namlich Plinii Secundi zeugnuss lesen, BDS, I, 276.

. . . and among other things he (Pliny that is) says that it was their custom to come together before daylight and sing songs of praise to Christ as their God¹.

As we have pointed out earlier in this chapter, many attempts have been made to interpret Pliny's report of the worship of the Christians of Asia Minor. We are not concerned with how many of the subtle nuances Bucer and Zwick may have succeeded in deciphering from this passage, but rather we simply want to point to the fact that they did have their finger on one of the earliest witnesses to the practice of psalmody and hymnody in the ancient Church.

In the passage we have just quoted from Bucer, in addition to Pliny, the Christian church historians are also mentioned as a source of the Reformers' knowledge of the hymnody of the ancient Church. Calvin also mentions the Church historians as proof of the ancient Church's use of psalmody and hymnody.

Concerning public prayers, it should be observed that there are two sorts. There are those which are simply said with words and those which are sung. Nor is this something of recent invention, for this has been the practice of the Church since the beginning, as it appears in the writings of the historians².

There are numerous passages from the church historians which might be quoted³. We have selected a passage from The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus:

But it will be proper here to relate by what means Athanasius escaped the hands of those who wished to apprehend him, after his expulsion from the church. It was evening, and the people were attending the vigil there, a service being expected. The commander arrived, and posted his forces in order of battle on every side of the church. Athanasius having observed what was done, considered within himself how he might prevent the people's suffering in any degree on his account: accordingly having directed the

¹ und under anderem spricht er das jren bruch sye morgen vor tag jrem Gott Christo ein lobgsang zezingen. Constance Hymnbook of 1540, fol. Aiii.

² Quant est des prieres publiques il y en a deux especes. Les unes se font par simple parolle: les aultres avec que chant. Et n'est pas chose inventee depuis peu de temps. Car des la premiere origine de l'Eglise, cela a esté; comme il appert par les histoires. OS, II, 15.

³ Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, V, xxviii, 5; VI, xxx, 10.
Socrates, Ecclesiastical History, VI, viii.
Sozomen, Ecclesiastical History, III, xvi.
Theodoret of Cyrus, Ecclesiastical History, II, xxiv.

deacon to give notice of prayer, after that he ordered the recitation of a psalm; and when the melodious chant of the psalm arose, all went out through one of the church doors. While this was doing, the troops remained inactive spectators, and Athanasius thus escaped unhurt in the midst of those who were chanting the psalm, and immediately hastened to Rome. (The Ecclesiastical History, II, xi)¹

Undoubtedly, the Reformers could have compiled a much longer list of passages in which they had learned of the ancient Church's use of psalms. There are a considerable number of passages in the sermons of Augustine which show quite clearly that the Church of Hippo was accustomed to the singing of psalms². This is particularly true of the sermons on the psalms which often speak of the liturgical use of the psalm on which Augustine is preaching. The sermons of Basil the Great give us similar indications. Perhaps one of the most beautiful passages of the Fathers which might be quoted at this point, because it was undoubtedly well known to the Reformers, is a passage in which John Chrysostom tells us of the ideal religious life as it was understood in his day. This ideal was, of course, the monastic ideal. The whole day of the monk was framed by the reading of Scripture, the saying of prayers and the singing of psalms.

But, as I said, at the crowing of the cock their President comes, and gently touching the sleeper with his foot, rouses them all. For there are none sleeping naked. Then as soon as they have arisen they stand up, and sing the prophetic hymns with much harmony, and well composed tunes. And neither harp nor pipe nor other musical instrument utters such sweet melodies, as you hear from the singing of these saints in their deep and quiet solitudes. And the songs themselves too are suitable, and full of the love of God. "In the night," they say, "lift up your hands unto God. With my soul have I desired Thee in the night, yea with my spirit within me will I seek Thee early." (Isaiah xxvi. 9.) And the Psalms of David, that cause fountains of tears to flow. For when he sings, "I am weary with my groaning, all the night make I my bed to swim; I water my couch with my tears" (Psalm vi. 6): and, again, "I have eaten ashes like bread" (Psalm cii. 9). "What is man that thou art mindful of him?"

¹ NPNF II, 40.

² For a collection of these passages see: Wunibald Roetzer, *Des heiligen Augustinus Schriften als liturgiegeschichtliche Quelle*, 101-102, and G.G. Willis, *St. Augustine's Lectionary*, 22-57. A thorough investigation might show that the old Reformed practice of "lining-out" the psalms by a cantor originated from a misunderstanding of remarks by Augustine on the way a cantor sang the psalm and the people answered. For example, Homily on Psalm 119. "Brevis Psalmus est, et valde utilis, quem modo nobis cantatum audivimus, et cantando respondimus." PL, XXXVII, 1596.

(Psalm viii. 4). "Man is like to vanity, his days are as a shadow that passeth away" (Psalm cxliv. 4). "Be not afraid when one is made rich, when the glory of his house is increased" (Psalm xlix. 16); and, "Who maketh men to be of one mind in a house" (Psalm lxviii. 6): and seven-times a day I will praise Thee, because of Thy righteous judgments" (Psalm cxix. 164): and, "At midnight will I rise to give thanks unto Thee, because of Thy righteous judgments" (Psalm cxix. 62): and, "God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave" (Psalm xlix. 15): and, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me" (Psalm xxiii. 4): and, "I will not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday" (Psalm xci. 5, 6): and, "We are counted as sheep for the slaughter" (Psalm xlv. 22): he expresses their ardent love to God. And again, when they sing with the Angels, (for Angels too are singing then), "Praise ye the Lord from the Heavens" (Psalm cxlviii. 1.)

Then at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, and in the evening, they perform their devotions, having divided the day into four parts, and at the conclusion of each they honor God with psalms and hymns, . . . ¹
(Homily XIV on Timothy)

The early Christians sang psalms in the celebration of the Eucharist and in the daily morning and evening prayers during the week. Psalms were sung at meal time as a table blessing, they were sung at work and during the quiet times of meditation at midday and evening. It was precisely this ideal the Reformers wished to see re-established². Through the constant use of the psalms they expressed their faith that man's worship of God, in fact his whole life, must be doxological. As the Westminster Catechism put it, "Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him forever."

2. The Preference for Psalmody

While it cannot be said that the early Reformed Church sang only psalms, it would seem clear that they expressed a partiality for psalms and hymns drawn from Scripture. This preference comes from their understanding of worship being

¹ NPNF, XIII, 456-457.

² Catherine Zell, the wife of the Cathedral preacher at Strasbourg, wrote in the preface to a hymnal which she published in 1534 much to this effect. Her words may well have been influenced by the passage of John Chrysostom which we have just quoted. For the text of Catherine Zell's preface see Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, 793-794.

the work of the Holy Spirit, rather than a work of man in response to God. To understand hymns as a work of art or as an expression of piety was more characteristic of Hellenistic religions than of the worship of the New Testament¹. One was not concerned about making something for God through human originality and cleverness but rather gratefully accepting from God the hymns which through God's Spirit had been given to the Church. This, of course, did not mean that one could not compose his own hymns. It was simply a matter of preferring to sing the hymns that had been inspired by the Holy Spirit to those which had been written by Ambrose, Luther or one of the Blarer brothers. Christian worship was to be in Spirit and truth. That meant not that worship was supposed to be immaterial, informal or disorganized but rather that worship was to be the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church². The liturgy was not the place for the expressing of our national culture, however rich or poor it may be, nor is it a place for amusing God by the genius of our personal creative imagination. The elegance of English prose, the harmony of German chorals, and the splendor of French cathedrals, are all quite beside the point. What is essential to worship is the work of God's Spirit in the congregation of his people. In 1543, Calvin wrote:

For that which Augustine tells us is true. No one is able to sing things worthy of God other than that which he has received from God: That is why when we have searched here and there and all over, we cannot find better songs, nor songs more appropriate to use than the Psalms of David: for these have been given to us by the Holy Spirit himself. And so it is when we sing them we can be sure that God himself has put the words in our mouths, as though he himself were singing in us to the praise of his glory. That is why Chrysostom tells men, women and

¹ Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, 82-83.
C.F.D. Moule, *Worship in the New Testament*, 64.

² Gerhard Delling puts it very well when he tells us that "spiritual songs" meant songs "wrought by the Spirit." Unfortunately, we must disagree with Delling when he tries to show that this rules out psalms taken from the Old Testament. The ancient Church is not likely to have forgotten that the Spirit had spoken through the prophets among whom they included David. G. Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, 86-87.

children to acquire the habit of singing them, that it be a meditation that brings us into the company of the Angels¹.

The words of Calvin express the sentiments of the Strasbourg school of Reformers. Oecolampadius was of much the same opinion. Staehelin suggests that his sermons on the psalms were preached to encourage the singing of metrical psalms². In one of these sermons he tells us that the point of singing psalms, as indeed the point of all true prayer is that it is God's Spirit which speaks in our hearts³.

The position of Calvin, which he had evidently taken over from Bucer and Oecolampadius was not the only position in the early Reformed Church. The two leading exponents of non-Scriptural hymnody in the Reformed Church were the two Reformers of Constance, Ambrosius Blarer and Johannes Zwick. In the preface of the Constance Hymnbook of 1540, Zwick gives a full argument for at least a moderate use of hymns not drawn from Scripture. He appeals to the text of Ephesians which speaks about singing hymns and spiritual songs as well as psalms. But with special interest we notice that Zwick also appeals to the practice of the early Church. He quotes the Apology of Tertulian to show that the early Church did sing songs of human composure.

After washing the hands and lighting the lamps, each one is called upon to sing to God before the congregation, as he is able, something from the Holy Scriptures or something of his own composition⁴.

(Apology, XXXIX, 18)

¹ OS, II, 17. "Or ce que dit S. Augustin est vray, que nul ne peut chanter choses dignes de Dieu, sinon qu'il ait receu d'iceluy: parquoy quand nous aurons bien circuy par tout pour chercher cà et là, nous ne trouverons meilleures chansons ne plus propres pour ce faire, que les Pseaumes de David: lesquelz le saint Esprit luy a dictz et faitz. Et pourtant, quand nous les chantons, nous sommes certains que Dieu nous met en la bouche les parolles, comme si luy-mesmes chantoit en nous pour exalter sa gloire. Parquoy Chrysostome exhorte tant hommes que femmes et petis enfans, de s'accoustumer à les chanter, afin que cela soit comme une meditation pour s'associer à la compagnie des Anges."

² Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads, 443-446.

³ Ibid., 415-417.

⁴ Apology, XXXIX, 18. "Post aquam manulem et lumina, ut quisque de scripturis sanctis uel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere:" (CCSL, I, 153). There may be some disagreement about whether these hymns were sung at an agape feast which was separate from the Lord's Supper or whether the meal of which he speaks is both Agape and Lord's Supper. We are of the latter opinion. Cf., Apology, XXXIX, 16. "Cena nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit: id uocatur quod dilectio penes Graecos."

More interesting, however, is the arrangement of the non-Scriptural hymns. The first one is Luther's version of the *Te deum*. In large letters at the top of the page is written, *Das lobgsang Ambrosii und Augustini*, "the hymn of Ambrosius and Augustine". Whether the title is correct or not is another matter¹. From the Confessions of Augustine the Reformers had certainly learned that Ambrosius had written hymns. The argument was sound enough. The Constance Reformers could legitimately appeal to Ambrose of Milan to support their use of hymns not drawn from Scripture. However, Tertulian and Ambrose represented the minority opinion in the ancient Church. From the middle of the second century until at least the end of the fourth century, most churches confined themselves to hymns and psalms taken from Scripture².

¹ The ascription of the *Te deum* to Ambrose and Augustine is today regarded as legendary. For contemporary suggestions as to its origin see LThK, IX, 1336-1337.

² Jungmann, MS, I, 415. The Church of the first century evidently produced a great number of hymns. Already in the New Testament we find evidence that the Church was writing hymns: Col. 1:15-20, Luke 1:68-79, Rev. 5:9-10, etc. We find hymns in early Christian literature, for example Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistle to the Ephesians*, VI, 2; XVIII, 2 and XIX, 2-3. (Cf., Reinhard Deichgräber, *Gottes hymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit* (Göttingen, 1967)).

In the second century non-Scriptural hymnody became associated with heretical groups. Consequently the orthodox Christians discontinued singing other than psalms (cf., Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII, xxx, 10). In Syria, Ephraim of Nisibis introduced his famous hymns as a way of stealing the thunder from the heretics. Romanos the Hymnograph, another Syrian, worked very much in the tradition of Ephraim. Strictly speaking, their hymnody is more homiletical than Western hymnody. One might call their hymns lyrical sermons. Romanos introduced this type of hymnody into the Byzantine Church in the beginning of the sixth century. Later, Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, and Theodore the Studite introduced another sort of hymnody. True to the neoplatonic philosophy, they tried to make their hymns copies of the heavenly hymns such as the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Sanctus*. In the West, Ambrosius and Hilary of Poitiers introduced non-Scriptural hymnody. In many circles these hymns enjoyed great popularity. In other circles they were regarded with suspicion. Non-Scriptural hymnody was condemned by the councils of Agde in 506, Tours in 567, and Toledo in 633; a fact which certainly did not go unnoticed by Bucer and Calvin. On the hymnody of the ancient Church in addition to the works we have already mentioned:

Ephrem de Nisibe, *Hymnes sur le paradis*, ed. and trans. by René Lavenant, S.J. and François Graffin, S.J. (Paris, 1968).

Romanos le Mélode, *Hymnes*, ed. by José Grosdidier de Matons (4 vols.; Paris, 1964-1967).

E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1962). (Hereinafter referred to as *Byzantine Music*).

If Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Calvin preferred the use of psalms we imagine that their preference had been largely influenced by the Fathers, especially John Chrysostom and Augustine. They had not simply inherited this preference from the practice of the medieval Church because both the office and the mass admitted the use of non-Biblical hymns. Nor is it a question of either biblicism or legalism because, as far as we have been able to discover, nothing in Scripture demands the exclusive use of psalms. Calvin himself in explaining his preference for the psalms simply quotes the opinion of Augustine and John Chrysostom, as the passage we have just quoted shows. Calvin does not specifically say what passage of John Chrysostom he has in mind, but the following lines well support Calvin's point:

"But be filled with the Spirit; speaking one to another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody with your heart to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God even the Father; subjecting yourselves one to another in the fear of Christ."

Dost thou wish, he says, to be cheerful, dost thou wish to employ the day? I give thee spiritual drink; for drunkenness even cuts off the articulate sound of our tongue; it makes us lisp and stammer, and distorts the eyes, and the whole frame together. Learn to sing psalms, and thou shalt see the delightfulness of the employment. For they who sing psalms are filled with the Holy Spirit,¹

(Homilies on Ephesians, XIX)

The passage from Augustine which Calvin quotes is from his commentary on the Psalms².

¹ NPNF, XIII, 138. Another passage which may well be in Calvin's mind is John Chrysostom's sermon on Colossians 3:16-17, Homilies on Colossians, IX. Here he tells Christians to teach their wives and children psalms, just as Calvin claims he does. The only difficulty is that later on in the sermon (NPNF, XIII, 301) the Church Father tells us "For the Powers above chant hymns, not psalms." By this, of course, he means what we would call canticles such as the Gloria and the Sanctus. Calvin insists to the contrary that it "brings us into the company of the Angels" (OS, II, 17). Calvin is not misquoting the saint. The problem is that John Chrysostom was not always of the same opinion. In a sermon on I Timothy 5:8 he says in regard to the psalms "for Angels too are singing them" (NPNF, XIII, 457). What seems to have happened is that Calvin has drawn on three passages of the great patriarch, Homilies on Colossians IX, Homilies on Ephesians XIX, and Homilies on Timothy XIV.

² Enarratio in psalmum XXXIV, PL, 36. Ergo Psalmus illi: illi cor nostrum, illi lingua nostra digna cantet: si tamen ipse dignabitur donare quod cantet. Nemo illi cantat, nisi qui ab illo acceperit quod cantare possit. Denique hoc quod modo cantamus, Spiritu ejus dictum est per Prophetam ejus, et in eis verbis ubi nos agnoscimus et ipsum. PL, XXXVI, 323.

The psalm belongs to Him: our heart is His, let our tongue sing appropriate things to Him: if only he shall deign to give that which the tongue should sing. No one sings to Him except he who would receive from Him what he should be able to sing. Finally we are able to sing in this way because He has spoken by his Spirit through the Prophet and in these words we recognize Him also.

(Enarratio in psalmum XXXIV)

We have seen that Calvin in defending his preference for psalmody and hymnody taken from Scripture quotes no passage from the Bible nor invokes any theological principle. Rather, he cites the opinion of Augustine and John Chrysostom -- his favorite theologian and his favorite exegete. This we suggest is no mere appeal to authority nor apologetic maneuver but an honest acknowledgment of the sources of his ideas.

3. The Musical Setting of Hymnody and Psalmody

The early Reformed Church preferred a very simple and unadorned musical accompaniment to the liturgy. Zwingli went so far as to remove all music from the service of worship. Psalmody and hymnody were recited rather than sung. As early as 1524, the organ was closed and a few years later it was removed from the church. The practice of Zwingli is rather puzzling. As Markus Jenny has pointed out, Zwingli himself never tried to justify his usage on theological grounds. He is known to have approved of Strasbourg's German psalms and he is never recorded to have spoken against the liturgical music of Wittenberg. Zwingli was a capable musician who played music at home for the amusement of his children and even composed music for the entertainment of his friends¹. Why he did not compose a musical setting for the Reformed liturgy of the Church of Zurich to replace the traditional music of the mass, of which he so much disapproved, remains unexplained. At any rate the policy of the Church of Zurich should not be regarded as typical of the early Reformed churches. Oecolampadius, Bucer, Calvin, Zwick, and even the Reformers of St. Gallen pointedly disagreed with the practice of Zurich.

¹ Markus Jenny, *Zwinglis Stellung zur Musik im Gottesdienst* (Zurich, 1966).

In Strasbourg, the situation was different. Bucer was not a musician but there were among the pastors of Strasbourg several who were: most notably Symphronius Pollio and Johannes Englisch. In the early days of the Strasbourg Reformation excellent melodies were composed for the psalms which have had an enduring musical worth. One thinks especially of Wolfgang Dachstein's tune, *Am Wasserfluss Babylon's* and Matthew Greiter's tune known today by the title *O Mensch Bewein dein Sünden Gross*¹. One thing is evident, in the Church of Strasbourg there was never any question but that the psalmody should be sung. Calvin was so favorably impressed by the psalm tunes that he produced a number of psalm versions based on the Strasbourg melodies. The organ was never completely abandoned but it seems to have been used sparingly. The city council found it necessary to insist that it be used to play preludes to the psalms and to accompany the singing verse by verse. Whether the decrees of the city council were in opposition to the wishes of the Reformers or whether they represent simply an attempt to define the responsibilities of the organist is not clear². There may have been differences among the Reformers themselves. In Strasbourg there was music in the worship service. It was good music but it was also simple music. It was music that remained subordinate to the liturgical texts and could be understood and sung by the whole congregation.

Calvin very definitely saw the value of singing in the worship, as is particularly clear from his preface to the Genevan Psalter of 1542³. We have already spoken of the melodies to be found in the first Genevan psalter. The twenty-one original settings to the psalms were perhaps composed by Guillaume Franc, the first cantor of the Church of Geneva who through Calvin's efforts had been given permission by the city council to open a school of music. The city council of Geneva seems to have had little interest in music and therefore Calvin had difficulty in securing the continued services of the musicians he would have liked to have enlisted in the service of the Reformed Church. Nevertheless, he did manage to gain the services of such men as Guillaume Franc, Claude Goudimel, and Loys Bourgeois for a sufficiently long time to achieve

¹ T. Gérold, *Les plus anciennes melodies de l'eglise protestante de Strasbourg et leurs auteurs* (Paris, 1928). (Hereinafter referred to as *Les melodies*.)

² *Ibid.*, 25.

³ OS, II, 15-18.

for his psalter an excellent collection of psalm tunes. Teaching the Genevans to sing was no easy task, but Calvin was determined to have a singing Church¹. He vigorously encouraged the instruction of music in the public school system, both music theory and voice training. The musical education of the city of Geneva at the time of Calvin reached a level of considerable quality.

As for the use of instrumental music in worship, especially in regard to the use of the organ, polyphony and Gregorian chant, Calvin was of a very different opinion. Musical instruments belonged to the worship of the Old Covenant and were part of the shadows of things to come which passed away with the coming of Christ². The elaborate musical settings of the papal church, Calvin saw as an imitation of the temple liturgy³. The purpose of music, as he understood it, was to inspire the prayer of the Church, especially the prayer of praise and thanksgiving. The music was to remain simple, so that it might remain the praise of the whole congregation. The musical accompaniment was to be definitely secondary to the texts that were sung⁴.

The attitude of the early Reformed Church toward the use of music in worship was much the same as that of the Church Fathers. Calvin, according to Théodore Gérold, was of all the Protestant Reformers the most clearly influenced by the Fathers in his understanding of music. He claims that the influence of John Chrysostom and Augustine of Hippo is particularly strong⁵. Our own research supports Gérold's claim quite thoroughly. As is well known, the ancient Church did not admit the use of instrumental music in worship. It was looked upon as a form of worship which like the sacrifices of the Jerusalem temple prefigured the worship in spirit and truth⁶. Some Fathers regarded it

¹ OS, I, 375.

² CR, LVII, 599.

³ CR, LVIII, 259.

⁴ Inst., III, xx, 31-32.

⁵ Théodore Gérold, *Les Pères de l'église et la musique* (Paris, 1931), 212-213. (Hereinafter referred to as *Les Pères*).

⁶ J. Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (Münster in Westphalia, 1930), 84-90. (Hereinafter referred to as *Musik und Gesang*). Gérold in discussing this problem shows how such Fathers as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Caesaria, Augustine and even John Chrysostom gave more or less allegorical explanations of the instruments. For example, Basil the Great explained the ten-stringed psalter as the harmony of life enjoyed by those who followed the Ten Commandments. Gérold, *Les Pères*, 124-134.

as a pagan practice¹. Even today the Eastern Orthodox Church does not permit organs². Many of the Fathers had a horror of instrumental music. Tertullian puts the playing of musical instruments on a level with attending the theatre and joining in idolatrous worship³. In one of his letters, Jerome tells us that a well-educated Christian girl should be deaf to musical instruments and not even know for what purpose the flute, the lyre and the harp are made⁴. Gregory of Nazianzus in one of his sermons tells his congregation how much better it is in the Christian Church that hymns and psalms replace the flutes and drums of the pagans⁵. Surely these or any number of similar passages would have been known to the Reformers⁶.

Without doubt the most well known passage of patristic literature on the subject of the musical accompaniment of hymnody and psalmody is found in the Confessions of Augustine. From this passage we find both a strong emphasis on simple music and a stressing of the primacy of the text. Augustine is in the process of confessing his desires for worldly pleasures. In discussing the pleasures of the ear he says:

At certain times when I am immoderately aware of these dangers, I am led astray by excessive severity. Sometimes this severity is so strong that I want to remove from my ears, and from the ears of the church as well, even the melodies of those sweet tunes to which the psalms of David are set. What seems to me more prudent is the practice, so often recounted to me, of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who had the psalms recited with such moderate fluctuation of voice that it sounded more like a proclamation than a song.

But when I remember the tears that I shed at the songs of thy Church at the time I first began to recover my faith, and how I am moved even yet,

¹ Jungmann, MS, I, 415; Quasten, Musik und Gesang, 103-110; Wellescz, Byzantine Music, 91-94.

² On the use of organs in the Byzantine Empire, and their subsequent introduction into the Western Church in the time of Pippin and Charlemagne see E. Wellescz, Byzantine Music, 105-109.

³ Tertullian, De spectaculis, 7. We suggest that the disapproval of the Church Fathers might also go a long way to explain why the Reformers were so much opposed to the theatre. Tertullian and Chrysostom were particularly outspoken on the subject and as we have often noticed, these two Fathers were especially beloved by the Reformers.

⁴ Surda sit ad organa: tibia, lyra et cithara cur facta sint, nesciat. Jerome Epistle CVII, 8; PL, XXII, 874.

⁵ Oratio V, 35; PG, XXV, 709.

⁶ For additional passages see Quasten, Musik und Gesang, 106-109.

not so much by the song as by that which is sung, and when these songs are sung with clear voice and appropriate modulation, then I recognize again its great utility.

So I waver between the danger of desire and the experience of great usefulness. Without wanting to set down any irrevocable decision, I desire rather to approve the practice of singing in church, that through delighting the ears the weaker soul might be aided to arise to piety. Nevertheless when it happens that I am moved more by the song than by that which is sung, I confess that I have sinned in such a way that I deserve to be punished, and then I would rather not hear singing¹.

(Confessions, X, xxxiii, 50).

The reference to Athanasius and his practice of psalmody is noteworthy. It seems more correctly to refer to the psalmody of the ascetics of the Egyptian desert. The monks recited the psalms in a sort of recitative without melody. This passage becomes more interesting when we consider the psalmody and hymnody of Zurich. The First Zurich Service Book of 1525 makes provision for the antiphonal reading of the Creed, the Gloria and Psalm 113 between the men and women of the congregation. According to Markus Jenny, Zwingli suggested a similar way of reciting the psalms to the monastery of Rütli when it became Protestant and wished to reform the saying of the office. It may very well be possible Zwingli has been inspired by this passage from Augustine. It is also possible that he was inspired by the practice that lay behind Augustine's remark; that is, the practice of the Egyptian monks.

Bucer also has this passage in mind when he speaks of Augustine's reference to the Egyptian Fathers who recited the psalms in a very simple manner

¹ Confessions, X, xxxiii, 50. "Aliquando autem hanc ipsam fallaciam immoderatus cavens, erro nimia severitate: sed valde interdum, ut melos omne cantilenarum suavium quibus Davidicum Psalterium frequentatur, ab auribus meis removeri velim, atque ipsius Ecclesiae; tutiusque mihi videtur quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio saepe mihi dictum commemini, qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti. Verumtamen, cum reminiscor lacrymas meas, quas fudi ad cantus Ecclesiae tuae in primordiis recuperatae fidei meae, et nunc ipso quod moveor, non cantu, sed rebus quae cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti hujus utilitatem rursus agnosco. Ita fluctuo inter periculum voluptatis et experimentum salubritatis; magisque adducer, non quidem irretractabilem sententiam proferens, cantandi consuetudinem approbare in Ecclesia; ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat. Tamen, cum mihi accidit ut me amplius cantus, quam res quae canitur, moveat; poenaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc mallet non audire cantantem." PL, XXXII, 800.

without musical elaboration¹. In point of fact, the usage of the Egyptian Fathers is not mentioned in the passage from Augustine. Bucer seems to know more about the practice of the Egyptian Fathers than Augustine reports which is undoubtedly due to his having read Athanasius' short work on the psalms, *Ad Marcellinum*, which speaks of the liturgical use of the psalms by the Fathers of the Egyptian desert. We have shown in chapter II that Bucer's library contained this book as early as 1518. This slight slip on the part of Bucer gives us an important hint to one of the patristic roots of Reformed psalmody. Today this work of Athanasius is not thought of as being a work of great importance but since the renowned German Humanist Reuchlin had edited it shortly before the Reformation, it was well known to most of the South German Reformers. We, therefore, find ourselves before the rather startling conclusion that the psalm singing of the Reformed Church has as a root the practice of the Egyptian desert Fathers, mediated through Augustine and Athanasius.

It is probably this same passage from Augustine which Calvin paraphrases in the preface to the *Genevan Psalter* of 1542:

And in truth, we know through experience, that singing has a grand force and vigor in moving and inflaming the hearts of men to invoke and praise God with more zeal and ardor. One should always take care that the music is not light and flighty, but rather has gravity and majesty as Saint Augustine tells us².

Calvin has here summarized the thought of Augustine on the function of church music.

Old Testament worship did include the use of musical instruments. The worship of the temple was accompanied by elaborate musical settings. The Church of the New Testament probably did not admit the use of musical instruments; however, this cannot be learned from the New Testament itself and certainly there is no Scriptural injunction against it³. Whatever else one might

¹ BDS, III, 295.

² Et à la verité, nous cognoissons par experience, que le chant a grand force et vigueur d'esmouvoir et enflamber le coeur des hommes, pour invoquer et louer Dieu d'un zele plus vehement et ardent. Il y a tousiours à regarder, que le chant ne soit pas legier et colage: mais ait pois et maïesté, comme dit saint Augustin (OS, II, 15). The passage is more explicitly referred to in Inst., III, xx, 32.

³ Dellling, *Worship in the New Testament*, 86.
C.F.D. Moule, *Worship in the New Testament*, 65.

say about the musical accompaniment of early Christian worship would be rather speculative. The Scriptures themselves do not even suggest that it should be restrained, simple or unadorned. If the early Reformed Church was of that opinion, it was probably more because of the warnings of the Church Fathers than because of the directions of either Old or New Testament¹.

¹ The attempt to explain the objection to instrumental music by I Cor. 14:15 has never been convincing. As O. Söhngen suggests, it is an *argumentatio ex post*. However, we do not find his attempt to explain the objection to instrumental music from Calvin's "theology of music" much more successful. O. Söhngen, "Theologische Grundlagen der Kirchenmusik," *Leiturgia*, IV, 44.

Chapter V
THE LORD'S SUPPER

A. THE DISMISSAL OF THE UNREPENTANT¹

The invitation and encouragement of the faithful to approach the Lord's Table and the warning of unrepentant sinners to abstain from the holy meal was an element in the service of worship which had great importance to many of the Reformers. To Calvin it was an essential element in the service of worship. Its importance to him was so great that he was ready to leave Geneva rather than give it up. It was not, of course, so much a particular liturgical form to which Calvin attached so much importance but rather what this liturgical form expressed, the Church's right to exercise discipline upon itself, even more, the necessity of church discipline. At this point reform of worship and reform of life were hammered together.

Although we find other early suggestions of some form of church discipline being expressed in the service of worship, a liturgical excommunication or dismissal of unrepentant sinners appears in the liturgy of the Reformed Church for the first time in Basel. In all probability it is the Evangelical liturgy of Basel which is the source of this element of the service. This would seem to be clear from a simple comparison of texts. The Dismissals of the Genevan

¹ J.J. von Allmen, *Worship, its Theology and Practice* (London, 1965), 64-67.

G. Anrich, *Strassburg und die calvinische Kirchenverfassung* (Tübingen, 1928).

J. Courvoisier, *La notion d'église chez Bucer dans son développement historique* (Paris, 1933), 97-115. (Hereinafter referred to as *La notion d'église*).

J. Grotz, *Die Entwicklung des Busstufenwesens in der vor-nicänischen Kirche* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1955), extensive bibliography. (Hereinafter referred to as *Busstufenwesen*).

W. Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1932). (Hereinafter referred to as *Ehegericht*).

W. Niesel, "Die Aufgabe der Kirchenzucht," *Evangelische Theologie* (1946), 217-233.

J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 115-116 and 126-127.

K. Rahner, "Die Busslehre des heiligen Cyprian von Karthago," *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* (1952), LXXXIV, 257-276 and 381-438.

G. Rauschen, *Eucharistie und Bussakrament in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten der Kirche* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1908).

E. Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 86-93 and 506-527.

Psalter of 1542 are obviously derived from William Farel's French Evangelical Service Book of 1533. The liturgy of Bern had an influence on Farel, but ultimately his work was based on the Basel Service Book of 1526. A study of the whole history of the development of church discipline in the Reformed church leads us in the same direction. Walter Köhler has shown that it was Oecolampadius who first attached church discipline to the Lord's Supper¹. We find it quite natural that Farel should have followed the example of Basel because he had spent some time in Basel especially between 1523 and 1525. It was, in fact, from Oecolampadius that Farel received his ordination².

For other elements of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 we have pointed to Strasbourg as the source, but in the various editions of the liturgies of Strasbourg we find no mention of a Dismissal of the Unrepentant. As early as 1525, Bucer spoke of not allowing the "Neophyti" to participate in the Lord's Supper. Those who were untaught or unconvinced of the Church's teaching, claimed Bucer, had not been allowed to receive communion in the ancient Church. In 1526, Bucer suggests that a further reform needed in the Strasbourg liturgy is an exclusion of those who do not live Christian lives³. As late as his Summarischer vergriff of 1548, the Strasbourg Reformer is still of the same opinion⁴. Nevertheless, the Dismissals never do become part of the public worship of the Church of Strasbourg.

Zwingli had evidently considered some sort of excommunication of those living scandalous lives. A manuscript has come down to us in which he had drawn up such a plan sometime before the first Evangelical celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Easter season of 1525, but this part of the manuscript did not find its way into any of the printed versions of the Zurich Service Book of 1525⁵. Later we find that Zwingli in a letter to Vadian says that

¹ Köhler, Ehegericht, I, 288-289. See also Hans Walter Frei, "Johannes Oekolampads Versuch, Kirchenzucht durch den Bann zu üben," Zwingliana, (1942), VII, 497-503 and Gustav Anrich, Strassburg und die calvinische Kirchenverfassung.

² J.J. von Allmen, Le saint ministère selon la conviction et la volonté des Réformés du XVI^e siècle (Neuchâtel, 1958), 208.

³ BDS, II, 463, 474-476.

⁴ Wendel, Summarischer vergriff, 54.

⁵ Cf., Ratschlag betreffend Ausschliessung vom Abendmahl für Ehebrecher, Wucherer usw., CR, XCI, 25-41.

he does not completely disapprove of Oecolampadius' plan for church discipline, but then he was not convinced either¹. Finally Bullinger, claiming to represent the opinion of Zwingli, tells us that an excommunication or even a warning to those who have been otherwise excommunicated would not be suitable to the joyous nature of the Eucharist².

Several other churches in the earlier days of the Reformation had some form of the Dismissals. The Augsburg Service Book of 1537 shows the use of a form of the Dismissals quite similar to those of Basel³. We find the same thing in the Memmingen Service Book of 1529⁴. The Ulm Service Book of 1531 also includes the Dismissals and, as we have already mentioned, Oecolampadius helped shape this liturgy⁵. It seems then that if we are to find any patristic roots for the Dismissals of the Genevan Psalter of 1542, we must find them in the Church of Basel.

The problem then is where Oecolampadius got the idea. We find something similar in Surgant's *Manuale curatorum*⁶. Before the yearly Easter communion the priest was expected to read a list of those sins which hindered one from receiving communion. The list was quite long and extremely detailed. Without a doubt this practice of the late medieval Church was at least one of the roots of the practice of Oecolampadius⁷.

However, the practice was perhaps even more strongly influenced by Oecolampadius' study of the Greek Fathers. This patristic knowledge had led Oecolampadius to emphasize this element of church practice far more strongly

¹ CR, XCVIII, 189.

² Köhler, *Ehegericht*, 356. The position of Bullinger is found in his letter to the Heidelberg pastor Dathanus, June 1, 1570. For a discussion of this letter cf., Friedrich Rudolf, "Die Kirche in Heidelberg nach den letzten Briefen Bullinger-Beza," *Zwingliana* (1944), VIII, 99.

³ Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, XII, 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 243-244.

⁵ Richter, *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen*, I, 158-159.

⁶ Fol. 116^r-119^r.

⁷ This announcement of sins which hindered the reception of communion was also the practice in Mainz about 1510. Franz Falk, *Die pfarramtlichen Aufzeichnungen des Florentius Diel zu St. Christoph in Mainz (1491-1518)* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1904), 18-23.

than it had been in the worship of the medieval Church. The following selection from Oecolampadius shows us a considerable amount of the meaning and importance that excommunication had for Oecolampadius.

After the Sanctus there is a time of silence for meditation on the passion of Christ. Then the words of Institution should be read in a loud clear voice. This is followed with a great silence in which the congregation is to offer prayers of thanksgiving followed by the Lord's Prayer. The deacon is to tell the people to examine themselves and if anyone has been warned and admonished two or three times to change his life he should withdraw until he has received a sign of improvement and has been reconciled. Communion follows. The faithful are dismissed with the admonition to remember the poor¹.

We want to draw attention to two things in this description. First we want to underline the importance which the Dismissals have within the total communion service. Oecolampadius does not think of it as a minor or occasional detail. Secondly we are perhaps at first surprised to see that the Dismissals are specifically left to the deacon. In the liturgy which Oecolampadius had printed in the following year the deacon is not mentioned. It is the celebrant rather than the deacon who reads the Dismissals, but the importance of the letter we have just quoted is that it shows an earlier stage of the development of the idea in Oecolampadius' own thinking. This mention of the deacon is easy to understand when we remember the great attention which Oecolampadius had given to the literature of the Greek Church. The dismissal of the unbaptized and other non-communicants was a regular part of the worship of the ancient Church. Even today most Eastern liturgies have retained some sort of dismissal of non-communicants. This dismissal was, and still is, announced by the deacon. It would seem then that Oecolampadius had seen this invitation of the faithful to communion and this admonition to unrepentant sinners to leave as being the dismissal of catechumens and penitents practiced in the ancient Church.

¹ Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 429; *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads*, ed. by Ernst Staehelin (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1927-1934), I, Nr. 239. ". . . dicto trysagio, ordinari velim silentium aliquantum, ut secum quique meditarentur passionem dominicam ardentem. Deinde aperte et cum intellectu legi verba caenae dominicae, huic ritui servientia, quibus lectis, iterum magno silentio eadem ruminari cum gratiarum actione. Postea orare dominicam orationem et ea absoluta vocari ad caenam communicaturos, interminando per diaconum, ut semetipsum homo probet ac diiudicet. Et si quis ad monitus secundo et tertio iuxta dominicum praeceptum denuntiaretur ecclesiae, illum tam diu repelli, donec specimen resipiscentiae certum prae se ferens reconcilietur. Deinde facta communione, cum pauperum et charitatis commendatione, conventum in pace solvi."

Oecolampadius had had an interest in the penitential discipline of the Eastern Church ever since he held the position of confessor general for the Bishop of Basel in 1518. We have already spoken of the translations which he had made of selections from a manuscript of Greek canon law. It is this same concern which he had already expressed in the foreword to his translations. Oecolampadius finds in the canons of the Greek Church the purity and holiness of the discipline of the primitive Church. He admitted that his age had a horror of such severity but it seemed to him that such a discipline would bring worthy fruit. Oecolampadius was a puritan and his puritanism was nourished by his patristic studies.

Professor Ernst Staehelin has already pointed out the importance of this collection of translations for the church discipline of the Reformed Church¹. One could say a great deal about the influence of these passages but for us what is particularly important is what is said by Gregory Thaumaturgos about the different classes of penitents and their dismissal from the service of worship². Those penitents who had been the most serious offenders were called "weepers"; they were not allowed to enter the church at all but rather must stand at the gates and implore the prayers of the faithful as they arrived for the liturgy. Another class of penitents was called "listeners." The listeners were allowed to stand in the narthex of the church and hear the service but they were required to leave after the departure of the catechumens. They might hear the Scripture reading and the sermon but might not participate in the prayers and the Eucharist. The "kneelers" were allowed into the church proper but they were to leave with the catechumens. There was a class of penitents which was allowed to remain during the Eucharist, but might not communicate and then finally there were those who, having been reconciled with the Church, were allowed fully to participate. We find a similar picture in Peter of Alexandria's On Penance³. The two documents are very important for the history of penance. We can date the work of Gregory Thaumaturgos as coming from 251 A. D. and that of Peter of Alexandria as coming from 306 A.D. Oecolampadius had, then, come across some of the earliest documents that we possess on the relation of the discipline of the Church to the liturgy.

¹ Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 89-91.

² For a recent study of this document cf., J. Grotz, *Busstufenwesen*, 400-408.

³ For a recent study of this document cf., *Ibid.*, 409-413.

Another passage which encouraged Oecolampadius to connect church discipline with the worship of the Church was chapter thirty-nine of Tertullian's *Apology*.

We are a body by our common faith, our common discipline, our common hope. We come together in congregation and assembly that we might solicit help from God by our prayers. This is what God himself wants. We pray for rulers, their ministers and governors, for the problems of this world, its peace, and a delay in its final destruction. We come together for a solemn reading of the Sacred Scriptures and we admonish one another as is appropriate to the times. Yes, by these words we encourage faith, we inspire hope, gain confidence, and tighten our discipline. In this assembly there are exhortations, corrections and divine judgment. For it is considered a weighty matter that being in the presence of God these judgments are rendered. For it is an intimation of the last judgment, if someone has done something wrong and must therefore be excluded from the prayers and all fellowship with the saints.

Those who preside are the approved elders, an honor which has no price other than a true witness, for the riches of God are not for sale.
(*Apology*, XXXIX, 1-5)¹

This passage is an important source of our information about Christian worship at the end of the second century (c. 197 A. D.). One has the impression that the Eucharist is a sacrament of the Last Judgment in which elders pronounce judgment with an authority dreadfully near that of the heavenly court of the four and twenty elders in Revelation. What is even more surprising is that it is hard to escape from the impression that trials on cases of church discipline were held in the course of a liturgical assembly.

In September of 1530, Oecolampadius suggested before the *Tagung des christlichen Bürgerrechts* in Aarau, a meeting of representatives from the cities of Zurich, Basel, Bern, Mulhouse, Biel, Constance, St. Gallen and

¹ *Corpus christianorum*, I, 150. "Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinae unitate et spei, foedere. 2. Coimus in coetum et congregationem facimus, ut ad Deum quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus. Haec uis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministeriis eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu saeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. 3. Coimus ad litterarum diuinarum commemorationem, si quid praesentium temporum qualitas aut praemonere cogit aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis uocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam praeceptorum nihilo minus inculcationibus densamus. 4. Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes et censura diuina. Nam et iudicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri iudicii praeiudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conuentus et omnis sancti commercii relegatur. 5. Praesident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti, neque enim pretio ulla res Dei constat.

Schaffhausen, that the cities should adopt a common plan of church discipline. The Basel Reformer suggested that this discipline be exercised by church courts made up of pastors and elders. He appealed to the passage of Tertullian to show that in the ancient Church discipline was exercised in such a way¹. A month later Bucer was in Basel and the two theologians discussed the matter of excommunication. Bucer, however, feared the establishment of a plan such as Oecolampadius' on the grounds that it might bring conflict with the civil authority. Besides that, he had certain reservations about being too much influenced by Tertullian, who was one of the most severe of the Fathers². Oecolampadius continued to consider the passage important³. As a matter of fact, Oecolampadius' use of the passage was bound to have its effect on the worship and government of the Reformed Church.

Another passage which may well have influenced Oecolampadius as well as other Reformers is a sermon of John Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew. As we have had occasion to say at more than one point in our discussion, the sermons of the great patriarch of Constantinople had vast influence on the Reformers due to their use of his sermons as source material in their preaching a *lectio continua* on the Gospel of Matthew during the early years of the Reformation. Commenting on Matthew 7:6 Chrysostom says,

For the mysteries we too therefore celebrate with closed doors, and keep out the uninitiated, not for any weakness of which we have convicted our rites, but because the many are as yet imperfectly prepared for them⁴.
(Homilies on Matthew, XXIII)

Chrysostom mentions church discipline in his sermons on the eighteenth chapter of Matthew but the passages do not have much to do with the relation of church discipline to the public worship of the Church⁵.

¹ Oek. Br. II, Nr. 782, p. 495.

² Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 517.

³ Oek. Br. II, Nr. 811, p. 541; Nr. 837, p. 587.

⁴ NPNF, X, 160.

⁵ Homilies on Matthew, LVIII, LIX, LX. In Zwingli's discussion of excommunication in the *Auslegung der Schlussreden* of 1523, he refers to Chrysostom's Homilies on Matthew. CR, LXXXVIII, 287.

The passage which most surely influenced Oecolampadius was one of Chrysostom's sermons on Ephesians.

You hear how the deacon comes forward and cries, "You who are penitents depart, all of you. Let all those who are not under discipline pray." . . . If you belong to those who are under the discipline of the Church you may not participate; he then, who does not participate, is a penitent. Why then do you non-communicants go on standing there when the call goes out, "Depart, all you who are not allowed to participate in prayer?" When it is so then that no unbaptized person may participate in the Eucharist, so is it true that no baptized person may participate unless he is pure . . . Do you not see that in our house the servant washes the table with a sponge, cleans the house, and then brings out the key. It is just that which happens with the prayer, through the call of the deacon.

(Homilies on Ephesians, III, 4)¹

This passage would clearly explain why in Oecolampadius' plan for a Reformed celebration of the Lord's Supper, which we quoted above, we find the deacon warning unrepentent sinners not to approach the Lord's Table. In fact, a closer examination of the suggestion of Oecolampadius shows that the passages which might have inspired Oecolampadius' suggestion are extremely limited. The present text of the Dismissals in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom reads:

Let the catechumens depart.
Catechumens, depart.
Let all the catechumens depart.
Let none of the catechumens remain.
Let all the faithful, and those in the
peace of the Lord, pray².

This text of the Byzantine liturgy says nothing about the penitents leaving. On the other hand, Oecolampadius says nothing about the catechumens, or even the ignorant or untaught, being asked to leave the service. The discrepancy is not due to a mistake either by Chrysostom or Oecolampadius. The sermons on Ephesians were preached at Antioch not at Constantinople, and as a matter of fact the liturgy of the Church of Antioch in the days of Chrysostom did have a

¹ NPNF, XIII, 64.

² Brightman, Liturgies, 375. "Ὅσοι κατηχούμενοι
προέλθετε· οἱ κατηχούμενοι προέλθετε· ὅσοι κατηχούμενοι
προέλθετε· μήτις τῶν κατηχουμένων. "Ὅσοι πιστοὶ ἔτι καὶ
ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Dismissal of penitents as can be seen from the Apostolic Constitutions¹. Oecolampadius then has not simply been inspired in his re-introduction of the Dismissals by the Eastern tradition in general but specifically by the Antiochian tradition. When we ask where he got his information about the liturgy of Antioch, we are left with three possibilities: this sermon on Ephesians, the Apostolic Constitutions and Pseudo-Dionysius². He would probably not have been inspired by Dionysius whose genuineness was under question at the time. The editio princeps of the Apostolic Constitutions did not come until 1563. It seems improbable that the South German Reformers had access to a manuscript of the Apostolic Constitutions³. The most obvious conclusion is that Oecolampadius knew John Chrysostom's sermon on Ephesians. Since the first edition of the Homilies on Ephesians did not appear until 1536 when Wolfgang Musculus published a translation of the complete collection of Chrysostom's sermons on the Pauline epistles, we must therefore assume that Oecolampadius had read the work in a manuscript. This is not an unreasonable assumption because we know that Oecolampadius had a special interest for the works of John Chrysostom and that he himself had prepared the first edition of four major Chrysostom manuscripts. He may have had access during his pastorate in Augsburg to the same codex which Musculus translated in the same city fifteen years later; however, we have not been able to establish this for certain⁴. It is also possible that there was a codex of John Chrysostom's

¹ Ibid., 9, 29. For the relation of the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions to the sermons of John Chrysostom, cf., Brightman, xliii.

² The liturgy described in Pseudo-Dionysius, Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, III, represents the usage of Antioch about a century after John Chrysostom. Dionysius does not use the word deacon although deacon is implied. Cf., Brightman, Liturgies, 487-490, n.b. note 5.

³ For the text tradition of the Apostolic Constitutions as well as a list of manuscripts and early editions see Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, III, 2733, 2742-2744. (Hereinafter referred to as DACL).

⁴ We have not been able to discover where Musculus got the manuscript on which he bases his translation of 1536. It would not necessarily have belonged to an Augsburg library although the city could boast three excellent collections of manuscripts: the collection of Konrad Peutinger, the library of St. Anna and the library of St. Afra and St. Ulrich. A catalogue of the library of Augsburg made by Elias Ehinger in 1633 mentions a manuscript Chrysostomi commentarius in epistolam D. Pauli ad Ephesios (E Ehinger, Catalogus bibliothecae amplissimae rei publicae Augustanae (Augsburg, 1633), 15-16). Whether this manuscript was in Augsburg at the time of Oecolampadius' pastorate we hesitate to say.

Homilies on the Pauline Epistles available in Basel in 1525¹. Nevertheless, the strongest argument for the influence of this work is the eloquence of the sermon itself. Anyone who had read it would surely have been moved by it. Especially the Reformers would have been convinced by his plea that the integrity of the sacrament be not violated by the participation of unrepentant sinners, and that the grace of the sacrament be not despised by a congregation which came to watch but not communicate.

Calvin quoted a number of passages from the literature of the ancient Church in regard to the importance of excommunicating unrepentant public sinners. Once again we meet a quotation from John Chrysostom's sermons on Matthew:

And here also we must preserve the order of the Lord's Supper, that it may not be profaned by being administered indiscriminately. For it is very true that he to whom its distribution has been committed, if he knowingly and willingly admits an unworthy person whom he could rightfully turn away, is guilty of sacrilege as if he had cast the Lord's body to dogs. On this account, Chrysostom gravely inveighs against priests who, fearing the power of great men, dare exclude no one. "Blood," he says, "will be required at your hands. If you fear a man, he will laugh at you; but if you fear God, you will be revered also among men. Let us not dread the fasces, the purple, the crowns; here we have a greater power. I truly would rather give my body to death, and let my blood be poured out, than participate in that pollution." Therefore, lest this most hallowed mystery be disgraced, discretion is very much needed in its distribution. Yet this can be had only through the jurisdiction of the Church².

To illustrate that the ideals of a Chrysostom were in fact practiced by the ancient Church, Calvin recalls the well known story of Bishop Ambrose of Milan who refused communion to the Christian Emperor Theodosius after the slaughter at Thessalonica³.

¹ That there was a manuscript of John Chrysostom's sermons on Ephesians in Basel between 1523 and 1525 seems quite possible, even though the present records of the library of Basel show no trace of such a manuscript. In 1526 Erasmus published the first two sermons on Philippians (*Divi Joannis Chrysostomi in Epistolam ad Philippenses Homiliae duae, versae per Erasmus Roteradamum additis Graecis* (Basel: Froben, 1526)). A year later he published the commentary on Galatians (*Divi Joannis Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani commentarius in epistolam ad Galatas, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete* (Basel: Froben, 1527)). Perhaps in the codex Erasmus used the sermons on Ephesians were to be found, where one would expect them, between Galatians and Philippians.

² Inst., IV, xii, 5.

³ Inst., IV, xii, 7.

It is the letters of Cyprian, however, which seem to have been most important for Calvin. This collection of letters is a valuable document for the study of the penitential discipline of the third-century Church¹. Calvin with his usual intensity had carefully studied this important source of information². Cyprian had tried during the difficult days of the Decian persecution and the equally difficult period of reconstruction which followed it, to maintain church discipline. He wished to avoid two extreme positions. There were the rigorists who were not willing to readmit apostates to the Lord's Supper except on their death beds or perhaps only after a long and harsh penitential discipline. On the other hand, there were those who were willing to admit the lapsed to eucharistic fellowship with little or no requirement of penitential discipline. The great bishop's sense of pastoral care encouraged him to seek a discipline that was more curative than punitive. He never tired of emphasizing Christian love for the fallen brethren and the rightness of mercy.

Calvin appreciated the moderation of the ancient bishop of Carthage and in the chapter of the Institutes devoted to church discipline he takes care to quote him both in favor of a well ordered ecclesiastical discipline and in stressing the pastoral concern for mercy. In the following passage we read of Calvin's approval for the well ordered government of the early church.

The ancient and better church kept this procedure while lawful government flourished. For if anyone had committed a crime that caused offence, he was ordered first to abstain from partaking of the Sacred Supper, then to humble himself before God and witness his repentance before the church. There were, moreover, solemn rites customarily enjoined as marks of repentance upon those who had lapsed. When these had been performed to the satisfaction of the Church, the penitent was received into grace with laying on of hands, a reception that Cyprian often calls "peace." He also briefly describes such a rite. "They do penance," he says, "for a set period; then they come to public confession and through the laying on of hands of bishop and clergy receive the right to communion."³

What interests us is that the passage clearly shows that Calvin had learned from Cyprian that the ancient Church had not permitted those who had seriously and

¹ J. Grotz, *Busstufenwesen*, 73-171.

² Bucer had also given special attention to Cyprian in regard to church discipline. Cf., Courvoisier, *La notion d'église*, 108-111.

³ *Inst.*, IV, xii, 6. Calvin is quoting Cyprian, *Epistles*, XVI, 2. Cf., also *Epistles*, XV, 1; XVII, 2 and LVII, 3.

publicly sinned to receive communion. On the other hand, the Genevan Reformer recognized just as well as the African bishop that the discipline demanded by the Church should not be so harsh that it would discourage repentance or so strenuous that it would encourage hypocrisy. With approval Calvin quotes Cyprian:

"Our patience," he says, "and gentleness and humaneness are ready for all comers. I desire that all return to the Church; I long that all our fellow soldiers be gathered within Christ's camp and God the Father's abode. I forgive all things; I overlook much; in ardent zeal to bring the brotherhood together,"1

Cyprian as a good pastor was above all concerned for the cure of those souls committed to his care. He and the rest of the African Church saw another wave of persecution approaching. He argued that the lapsed who had fallen in the last persecution should be strengthened to withstand the coming persecution. He saw the Lord's Supper as a means of strengthening them². In the Communion Exhortation of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 we find the same concern. Not only are the unrepentant dismissed but the faithful are encouraged to remain and to receive the sacrament.

Let us be assured that the sins and imperfections which remain in us will not prevent Him from receiving us and making us worthy partakers of this spiritual Table. For we do not come here to testify that we are perfect or righteous in ourselves: On the contrary, by seeking our life in Jesus Christ we confess that we are in death. Know, therefore, that this sacrament is a medicine for the poor sick souls, and that the only worthiness which our Lord requires of us is to know ourselves sufficiently to deplore our sins, and to find all our pleasure, joy and satisfaction in Him alone³.

With both John Chrysostom and Cyprian we find the same problem. They wanted to invite the blind, the maimed, and the beggars to the King's Banquet, but at the same time they felt obliged to deny the man without a wedding garment a place at the Lord's Table. The Reformers realized that they too were in the same dilemma.

¹ Inst., IV, xli, 8. Calvin is quoting Cyprian, Epistles, LIX, 16.

² Epistles, LVII, 1.

³ Thompson, LWC, 206-207.

B. THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER¹

1. The Creed

The Creed has always occupied an extremely important place in the worship of the Reformed Church. Its place at the beginning of the liturgy of the faithful is one of those marks which generally distinguishes Reformed from Lutheran liturgies. For the Lutheran churches the Creed has most often been placed after the reading of the lessons. In the Reformed churches of Anglo-Saxon tradition the reciting of the Creed is particularly associated with those services in which one of the sacraments is celebrated. In recent years those liturgists who have been a bit too impressed by the idea that worship is man's response to God have tried to explain the Creed as though it were a response to the preaching. In Strasbourg, the singing of the Creed does follow directly on the sermon but it also begins the celebration of the sacrament. In Geneva, however, the Creed clearly belonged to the eucharistic service². It did not follow the sermon but rather the Prayer of Intercession. When the sacrament

¹ J.J. von Allmen, *Essai sur le repas du Seigneur* (Neuchâtel, 1966), 23-36.

J. Audet, "Esquisse historique du genre littéraire de la bénédiction juive et de l'eucharistie chrétienne," *Revue Biblique* (1958), LXV, 371-399.

B. Botte, "Canon missae," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, II, 842-846.

F. Cabrol, "Epiclèse," *DACL*, V, 142-184.

F. Cabrol, "Canon," *DACL*, II, 1847-1905.

Brevard S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel* (London, 1962).

J.A. Jungmann, *MS*, II, 145-161, 271-295.

J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1950).

H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (3rd. ed.; Berlin, 1955), 50-173.

A.B. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church*, 162-173.

E.G. Selwyn, "The 'Spiritual House,' its Priesthood and Sacrifices in I Peter 2:5-9," *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (London, 1949), 285-298.

E. von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit*, 207-323, 252-256.

² The Genevan Psalter of 1542 does not specifically say that the Creed is to be sung; however, a version for singing is included among the hymns. The French Evangelical Psalter of 1545 does indicate that the Creed is to be sung.

was omitted the Creed was likewise omitted¹. The First Zurich Service Book of 1525 had placed an antiphonal reciting of the Nicene Creed after the lessons and before the Communion Exhortation. The ordinary preaching services did not, however, provide for the reciting of the Creed². In Basel the Apostles' Creed is to be found at the beginning of the order for the Lord's Supper. Oecolampadius explains it as the sacrament or mystery of our unity. In a short exhortation in which Oecolampadius makes a number of plays on the words "mystery," "sacrament," "unity" and "communion," the learned Reformer makes it clear that for him the Creed is the sacrament of our communion with God and with our brethren³.

It seems that the singing of the Creed in the liturgy of the Church of Strasbourg is to be regarded as a substitution for the old Prefaces of the Roman Mass. By the end of the Middle Ages the long thanksgiving for the works of creation, redemption and sanctification had been considerably reduced. What then was the focal point of thanksgiving was the Preface, with its introductory *Sursam corda* and concluding *Sanctus*. Unlike some of the liturgies of the Orient which in each eucharistic liturgy rehearsed the whole mystery of God's eternal plan,

¹ OS, II, 45.

² CR, XCI, 13-24 and 686-687.

³ We have not as yet discovered any theological reasons for the fact that the Reformed Church seems to have adopted the Apostles' Creed rather than the Nicene Creed. We find no justification for tracing it to the conflict of Calvin with Petrus Caroli, the French Christian Humanist who demanded that Calvin swear to the Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian Creeds to prove that he was not an Arian. The use of the Apostles' Creed in the Reformed liturgy was established long before the controversy between Caroli and Calvin. Calvin's evaluation of the three Creeds at the time is, however, interesting. The material has been gathered together by Jan Koopmans, *Dogma*, 45-48. Koopmans tells us that Calvin preferred the Apostles' Creed as a Confession of Faith because the Nicene Creed was more of a hymn than a Creed. Calvin also correctly suspected that the Nicene Creed did not come from the Council of Nicea. To the Apostles' Creed, however, he attributed great antiquity. The following reasons might have contributed to the choice: 1) Perhaps the preference was influenced by the general tendency of the humanists to prefer an older and purer text. When we examine the explanation generally given for the evolution of the texts of the creeds by someone such as Clichtoveus in his *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum* (Basel, 1519), fol. 119r, we can readily understand why the Reformers might have engaged in the movement *ad fontes*. 2) The reform movement of Bishop Christoph von Utenheim, Jacob Wimpfeling and Johann Ulrich Surgant had made a serious effort at trying to teach the faithful the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed. It is therefore probable that the Apostles' Creed was retained primarily for pedagogical reasons.

the Western liturgies had divided the thanksgiving into the Prefaces of the Christian year. None of these Prefaces was too long and consequently they have never left quite the magnificent impression created by the hymnic rehearsal of the mighty works of God as we find it in the liturgy of St. Basil for instance. It was precisely this recounting of the works of creation and redemption which was the ancient core of the Eucharistic Prayer¹. Unfortunately, since the time of Isidore of Seville these prayers of thanksgiving had been considered prefaces to the Eucharistic Prayer rather than its essential element. This misleading name has continued until today. The explanation which Clichtoveus gives of the Preface might be considered quite typical of the way this part of the service was understood shortly before the beginning of the Reformation:

This part of the mass is commonly called the Preface, that is, an introduction to the principal prayer, which is the consummation of the holy mysteries, and which is contained in the Canon. Just as an author places a preface before his work . . . or as speakers before putting forth their requests make an introduction to capture the good will of their audience in order that they might give attention to that which is going to be said, so it is, if one is allowed to compare the greater to the lesser, in celebrating this most divine sacrifice, that this prayer is a prologue or introduction of the following Canon obtaining the good will of God himself upon us. So in this the priest presents praise and thanks to God, being in this manner prepared, he, the priest, is able to achieve more aptly the consecrating of the body of Christ².

In the earliest German masses celebrated at Strasbourg, the Prefaces along with the *Sursum corda* and the *Sanctus* were simply translated into German, but as early as the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526 (F) they had been re-

¹ A.B. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church*, 165-168, shows very clearly the relation between a "Thanksgiving-prayer, Hymns of praise and Credal-confessions" in primitive Christian worship.

² Clichtoveus, *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum*, fol. 121^v. *Haec pars missae vulgato nomine praefatio dicitur, id est, praelocutio ante praecipuam orationem, factorum mysteriorum consummationem, & in canone contentam. Vt enim in principio operis ipsorum autorum praefationes ponuntur, introductoriae ad totam operis materiam intelligendam, & in orationibus oratorum proemia sunt & exordia ante causae narrationem, quibus captetur auditorum benivolentia, reddanturque attenti ad ea quae dicturus est orator. Ita si magna licet componere paruis, in hoc diuinissimo celebrando sacrificio haec oratio, quasi prologus quidam est & praelocutio sequentis canonis, captans ipsius dei in nos benivolentiam. In ea enim praeloquitur sacerdos gratias & laudes deo, ut praeparatus huiusmodi laudatione, aptius possit ac melius ad consecrandum Christi corpus peruenire.*

moved and replaced by the congregational singing of the Creed in Luther's version, "Wir glauben all."¹

As is well known, one of the earliest records we have of the use of the Creed in the celebration of the Lord's Supper is the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. We have already had occasion to note that Dionysius did not enjoy too great a popularity with most of the Reformers but Bucer seems to have felt more kindly toward him than the others. Perhaps Bucer had been influenced by the explanation of the liturgical function of the Creed offered by the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. There we find that the liturgy of the faithful begins when the holy congregation offers a prayer of praise and thanksgiving for the divine goodness. This prayer is called "The Hymn," "The Symbol" or "The Thanksgiving." Dionysius goes on to explain how in the Creed we have a hymn of thanksgiving for God's great acts of creation, redemption and sanctification². In the Strasbourg liturgy this seems to be the function which the singing of the Creed serves.

For Calvin the singing of the Creed occupies the additional function of being a vow. In the Genevan Psalter of 1542 the Creed still forms the beginning of the eucharistic service, but the Creed is introduced with the rubric that the Creed is to be said to testify that we wish to live and die in the Christian faith³.

Here Calvin seems to be influenced by the North African theologians, Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine. The North African theologians had often spoken of the Creed as a sacramentum⁴. According to Mohrmann, the

¹ It does not seem likely that the Order for the Lord's Supper of 1525 included the congregational singing of the Creed, for as far as we can discover Luther's hymn was first included in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1526. In Bucer's Grund und Ursach of 1524 he says that the congregation sings the Creed. Possibly this is best regarded as a goal of Bucer's. (Hubert, liturgischen Ordnungen, xv).

² Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, III, vii, b.

³ OS, II, 46.

⁴ J. de Ghellinck, E. de Backer, J. Poukens, and G. Lebacqz, Pour l'histoire du mot "sacramentum," Les anténicéens (Louvain and Paris, 1924), I. (Hereinafter referred to as Pour l'histoire).

Christine Mohrmann, "Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens," Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens (3 vols.; Rome, 1958-1965), I, 233-244. (Hereinafter referred to as "Sacramentum.")

Hans von Soden, "μυστήριον und sacramentum in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten der Kirche," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, (1911), XII, (Hereinafter referred to as "sacramentum").

basic meaning of the word *sacramentum* is a religious commitment, "un engagement religieux". In a derived sense it can, therefore, mean an initiation to a religious community, an oath of allegiance, a religious vow, or a legal or religious contract¹. Tertullian in his *De corona* contrasts the sacrament of the Christian with the sacrament of the soldier. By this he means that just as the soldier has made an oath of allegiance to his commander, so the Christian in his baptism has made an oath of allegiance to Christ. For Tertullian it was this understanding of the word *sacramentum* which led to his application of it to baptism or the Lord's Supper. Especially baptism was a sacrament because it involved a pledge of allegiance to Christ². The Creed was also called a *sacramentum* because it was a formulation of the faith to which one swore allegiance at baptism³.

Cyprian uses the word *sacramentum* in much the same way. It is for him above all the profession of faith made at baptism. But with Cyprian we find for the first time the word *symbolum* used for the baptismal confession of faith⁴. For Cyprian the saying of the Creed especially as it was said in connection with baptism constituted a vow or oath.

Augustine of Hippo, although writing two hundred years after Tertullian, continues this traditionally North African understanding that the Creed is a vow or a pledge of allegiance. In his sermons on the Creed he often expresses the idea. In Sermon 212:1 he tells us that the Creed gets its name *symbolum* from the pact or contract which businessmen make as the basis of their corporations⁵. In Sermon 214:12 Augustine says:

¹ Mohrmann, "Sacramentum," 237.

² For a presentation and explanation of the relevant passages from Tertullian see von Soden, "sacramentum," 211-212.

³ By the time of Tertullian the text of the Creed had not yet been fixed. Even in the time of Augustine the text of the Creed could vary from city to city. Augustine was fond of using the Creed of Milan, although it differed slightly from the Creed of North Africa and the Creed of Rome. On the question of the distinction between a declaratory creed and a response to the baptismal interrogations, see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 44-45, 82-88, 113-119.

⁴ *Epistles*, LXIX, 7; CSEL, III, 756. For a discussion of this letter, see Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 46-47 and 53; de Ghellinck, et. al., *Pour l'histoire*, 164-169.

⁵ "Symbolum autem nuncupatur a similitudine quadem, translato vocabulo; quia symbolum inter se faciunt mercatores, quo eorum societas pacto fidei teneatur." PL, XXXVIII, 1058.

It is called the symbol because it contains the agreed upon articles of faith of our association and by its confession one is recognized as a faithful Christian as through the giving of a sign¹.

However, for our purpose it is particularly interesting to note that Augustine brings the use of the Creed into a close relationship with the idea of the covenant. In Sermon 212:2, Augustine tries to explain why Christians do not ever write the text of the Creed. It is because of the prophecy of Jeremiah, he tells his congregation, which says that when God gives his new covenant he will write his law on the tablets of their hearts (Jeremiah 31:33)². For our taste this explanation is a bit too fortuitous but we are very interested in the fact that Augustine wishes us to understand the use of the Creed in terms of the covenant relationship. If a covenant is a relationship of mutual faith and faithfulness between two parties, then the Creed is the symbol of this faith. The Creed is the vow which expresses this relationship and the pledge by which one enters into this relationship.

Here is how Calvin understands the function of the Creed in the liturgy. He also understands it in terms of the covenant relationship. It is "to testify that we all wish to live and die in the Christian faith"³. We have not uncovered in Calvin any specific quotations which claim the North African theologians as the source of the Reformed understanding of the liturgical use of the Creed. However, we think that any student of North African theology will recognize in the minister's introduction to the Creed in the Genevan Psalter of 1542 the thought world of ancient Carthage. Calvin has faithfully reproduced

¹ "Quod ideo Symbolum dicitur, quia ibi nostrae societatis fides placita continetur, et ejus confessione tanquam signo dato christianum fidelis agnoscitur." PL, XXXVIII, 1072.

² "Nec ut eadem verba Symboli teneatis, ullo modo debetis scribere; . . . sed memoria semper tenere atque recolere. Quidquid enim in Symbolo audituri estis, in divinis sacrarum Scripturarum litteris continetur. Sed quod ita collectum et in formam quamdam redactum non licet scribi commemoratio fit promissionis Dei, . . . Hoc est Testamentum quod ordinabo eis post dies illos, dicit Dominus, dando legem meam in mente eorum, et in corde eorum scribam eam (Jerem. XXXI, 33)." PL, XXXVIII, 1060.

³ "Puis apres avoir fait les prieres et la confession de Foy, pour testifier au nom du peuple, que tous veulent vivre et mourir en la doctrine et Religion chrestienne, . . . " OS, II, 46. (Cf., 45).

the meaning of sacramentum as he had learned it from Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine.

The liturgical function of the Creed is one of the clearest examples of how the liturgy of the early Reformed Church was influenced by patristic literature. In the case of Strasbourg, the Reformers seem to have been influenced by the ancient liturgy of Antioch as it was reported by Pseudo-Dionysius. As for the Genevan liturgy, the influence of the Fathers is more theological than liturgical but it is nevertheless important¹.

2. The Communion Invocation

Contemporary Reformed liturgists seem to have given little attention to the Genevan Communion Invocation. When it has been mentioned, it has usually been described with a singular lack of perception. A careful reading of the prayer shows that it has three aspects. First it is an invocation or epiclesis. Second it is a prayer of thanksgiving. Third, and most important, it is a prayer in which we make the vow of the covenant. We shall find that each of these aspects has a different root. The fact that the prayer is an invocation comes from its root in the Canon of the Roman Mass. The fact that it is a prayer of thanksgiving comes from its root in Holy Scripture. It is only in so far as this prayer is understood as a covenant vow that we can point to a strong patristic root.

a) The Communion Invocation as Invocation

First of all, the Communion Invocation should be considered an invocation. As one studies the early liturgies of the Reformed Church it becomes plain

¹ We remember that the writings of the North African theologians do not reflect the use of the Creed in the Eucharistic liturgy, a practice which in the West began considerably later. On the other hand, the Pseudo-Dionysian literature does reflect such a practice.

that the "epicletic nature" of worship was very important to the Reformers¹.

Traditionally, the invocation or Epiclesis was the place in the Christian liturgy where it was made clear that it was not the celebration which commanded God's grace or controlled God's grace, but rather that worship was dependent upon God's grace. The essence of magic is that by the performance of certain rites or the repeating of certain formulas one may avail one's self of the power of supernatural forces. The Epiclesis, however, recognizes that we must put ourselves at God's disposal². This is expressed very clearly in the Communion Invocation of the Zurich Service Book of 1525.

O Lord, God Almighty, who by thy Spirit hast brought us together into thy one body, in the unity of faith, and hast commanded that body to give thee praise and thanks for thy goodness and free gift in delivering thine only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to death for our sins: grant that we may do the same so faithfully that we may not, by any pretense or deceit provoke thee who art the truth which cannot be deceived. Grant also that we may live as purely as becometh thy body, thy family and thy children, so that even the unbelieving may learn to recognize thy name and glory.

¹ In English-speaking Reformed churches the Epiclesis was destined to undergo an even more important development. Perhaps we may say that this evolution reaches its height with the beautiful Epiclesis written by Richard Baxter for the Liturgy of Savoy, the Presbyterian proposal for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer:

Most Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son: by whom Christ was conceived; by whom the prophets and apostles were inspired, and the ministers of Christ are qualified and called: that dwellest and workest in all the members of Christ, whom thou sanctifiest to the image and for the service of their Head, and comfortest them that they may shew forth his praise: illuminate us, that by faith we may see him that is here represented to us. Soften our hearts, and humble us for our sins. Sanctify and quicken us, that we may relish the spiritual food, and feed on it to our nourishment and growth in grace. Shed abroad the love of God upon our hearts, and draw them out in love to him. Fill us with thankfulness and holy joy, and with love to one another. Comfort us by witnessing that we are the children of God. Confirm us for new obedience. Be the earnest of our inheritance, and seal us up to everlasting life. Amen.

(Thompson, LWC, 401)

It is interesting to note that this Epiclesis was used after the Words of Institution. The absence of an Epiclesis became one of the major criticisms which the Puritans raised against the Anglicans' Book of Common Prayer. Cf., W.D. Maxwell, *The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book* (London, 1965), 134-136.

² J.J. von Allmen, *Worship its Theology and Practice*, 26-32.

Keep us, Lord, that thy name and glory may never be reviled because of our lives. O Lord, ever increase our faith, which is trust in thee, thou who livest and reignest, God for ever and ever. Amen¹.

We are dependent on the Holy Spirit to bring us together and to make us into the body of Christ. We worship not as a means of trying to control God but rather we worship in obedience to him. It is in fact only by God's grace that our worship can be acceptable to him. The Holy Spirit must help us in our worship. It is central to the Reformed doctrine of worship that true worship is nothing less than the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church. It is this concern to recognize that true preaching, true prayer, and the true administration of the sacraments depends upon God's Holy Spirit rather than upon human flesh which we find in the Communion Invocation of the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537.

And to all of us here gathered before thee, in the name of thy Son and at his table, grant, O God and Father, that we may truly and profoundly recognize the sin and depravity in which we were born . . . and as there is nothing good in our flesh, yea, as our flesh and blood cannot inherit thy kingdom, . . . grant that . . . we may live no more our sinful and depraved life, but that He in us and we in Him may live His holy, blessed and eternal life . . . so that we may at all times render praise and thanks to thee, and glorify thy holy name with all our words and deeds².

It is characteristic of the Reformed Communion Invocation that Christ is asked to take up his dwelling in the hearts of the faithful to the end of their sanctification and God's glory³. The sacrifice of praise is the fruit of the consecration of the congregation⁴. Once again we come back to a basic insight of the Re-

¹ Thompson, LWC, 154.

² Ibid., 176.

³ Jungmann makes the distinction between a "Communion-epiclesis" and a "Consecration-epiclesis" which does make considerable sense for the prayers of the Roman Canon which he is discussing. It should be obvious from what we have said above that the Reformed Communion Invocation admits no such distinction. Precisely this was the point of the Reformers, one cannot separate the consecration of the bread from the consecration of the congregation. Jungmann, MS, II, 292.

⁴ It is interesting to compare the Reformed Communion Invocation to the epiclesis of Hippolytus. There we also find a prayer that the Holy Spirit come upon the Church to sanctify it that it might praise and glorify God. Cf., Macdonald, Christian Worship in the Primitive Church, 163-165, 168.

formed liturgies. There is neither praise of God nor any true worship apart from the sanctifying presence of the Holy Spirit in the congregation.

If the Communion Invocation of the Strasbourg and Genevan liturgies is a prayer of invocation, it is probably because its roots are to be found in those prayers of the Roman Canon in which one is apt to find the elements of invocation or epiclesis. It seems clear that the Reformed prayer is historically dependent on those prayers which follow the Words of Consecration, particularly the two prayers *Supra quae* and *Supplices*¹.

In order to see more clearly this dependence we must go back to the earliest attempts of the Evangelical pastors of Strasbourg to celebrate a German mass. Their Communion Invocation represents the attempt at formulating a Protestant version of the Latin prayers, *Unde et memores*, *Supra quae*, *Supplices*, *Memento*, and *Nobis quoque*. With certain aspects of these prayers the Reformers were in profound disagreement. Consequently we often see the relation more through antithesis than through similarity.

In the Strasbourg German masses of 1524 and 1525 we find only a very brief Communion Invocation which is under the title of *Post elevationem*. The first two attempts at formulating a Communion Invocation were rather unimaginative. In each case the result can best be described as the vestigial remains of the old Latin prayers. In the manuscript of Diebold Schwarz we find the following formulation of the prayer:

Therefore, Lord, we thy servants, meditating on the suffering and dying of thy Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, his Resurrection from Hell and his true Ascension into the Heaven of thy divine majesty, present our humble

¹ Various attempts have been made to explain the post-consecration prayers of the Roman Mass as being an epiclesis. This attempt we find already in the Middle Ages, in the fourteenth century by the Byzantine theologian Nicholas Cabasilas, in the fifteenth century at the Council of Florence and by contemporary theologians as well. Dom Botte, ("L'ange du sacrifice et l'épiclesse de la messe romaine au moyen age," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* (1929), I, 285-308) has shown that originally the first part of the prayer *Supplices* was not understood as an epiclesis. On the other hand, we find no reason to disagree with Jungmann that in the second part of the same prayer there is a strong element of epiclesis. For a detailed account of the long history of this discussion see the article of S. Salaville, "Epiclesse eucharistique," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (Paris, 1909-1950), V, 194-300. (Hereinafter referred to as DThC).

prayers, that with kind and gracious eyes thou mayest deign to accept them as well pleasing, through Jesus Christ our Lord¹.

The first half of the prayer is simply a free translation of the beginning of the Latin *Unde et memores* while the rest of the prayer is a translation of the opening phrase of the prayer *Supra quae*. "With kind and gracious eyes" is intended to translate *propitio ac sereno vultu*. Needless to say, the presentation of the sacrifice, which is the main point of the Latin prayers has been left untranslated.

The Strasbourg German Mass VII (B) gives a very brief prayer which is still thought out basically in terms of opposition to the mass but unlike the prayer of Diebold Schwarz it gives a Protestant alternative to the Latin prayers rather than simply cutting away the phrases which the Evangelical theologians found unacceptable. The fact that the Communion Invocation of the Strasbourg German Mass VII (B) is to be found between the Words of Institution and Lord's Prayer is the first clue to its relation to the old Latin prayers. However, to properly see their relation to each other, antithetical as the relation might be, we shall put the prayers in parallel columns:

Roman Mass²

(Unde et memores)

Calling therefore to mind the
blessed Passion of this same

Strasbourg German Mass VII³

O how great holy and wonderous is
and should be for us the sacred

¹ Hubert, *Liturgische Ordnungen*, 69. "Deshalben, herr, wier dine diener bedrachten desselbigen dines sünes, vnsers herren Jesu Christi liden vnd sterben, vfferstendnis von der helle vnd auch die erlich vffart zu den himlen diner götlichen maiestat, damit anbieten vnser diemettiges gebet, daruf dw mit genaedigen, heitterren aügen schauen diegest vnd dier das gefallen lassest durch Jesum Christum, vnseren herren."

² Thompson, *LWC*, 75-79.

³ Hubert, *Liturgische Ordnungen*, 70-71. "O wie herlich, heylsam vnd wungiklich ist vnd sol vns seyn dise heylige gedechtnüss des tods vnsers heylands vnd erlösers Jesu Christi, durch den wir vom todt, sünd vnd hell erlöst synd, vnd du deynen heyligen geyst, o gott vnd vatter, durch den wir dir zuo kynderen widergeboren vnd angenommen synd, gesant hast, also das wir in seyner vätterlichen lieb, gnaden vnd barmhertzigkeit sicher vnd gewiss synd: nemlich, so wir hye haben den gebenedyeten leyb vnd das heylig bluot im brot vnd weyn deynes allerliebsten suons, vnsers herren Jesu Christi, zuo einem pfand vnd sicherung solcher deyner gnaden vnd güttigkeit. Darumb, ob schon yetz zuo diser zeyt dise grosse herlichkeit, das wir deyne kynder vnd erben vnd miterben Christi worden seynd, an vnns noch nitt beschyndt, so wir

Christ, thy Son, our Lord, and
also his resurrection from the
grave and glorious ascension
into heaven,

we thy servants, Lord, and with
us all thy holy people,

offer to thy sovereign majesty,
out of the gifts thou hast bestowed
upon us, a sacrifice that is pure,
holy, and unblemished, the sacred
bread of everlasting life, and the
cup of eternal salvation.

(Supra quae)

Deign to regard them with a favor-
able and gracious countenance,
and accept them as it pleased
thee to accept the offerings of
thy Servant Abel the Just, and
the sacrifice of our father Abra-
ham, and that which thy great
high priest Melchisedech sacri-
ficed to thee, a holy offering, a
victim without blemish.

(Supplices)

Humbly we ask it of thee, God
Almighty: bid these things be car-
ried by the hands of thy holy angel

memorial of the death of our Saviour
and Redeemer Jesus Christ, through
whom we have been saved from
death, sin and hell, and thy Holy
Spirit, O God and Father, whom
thou hast sent and through whom
we have been born again and
adopted

So that we are assured of thy Father-
ly love, grace and mercy:

For we have here the blessed body and
holy blood of thy beloved Son our Lord
Jesus Christ, in bread and wine
which is to us the sign and seal of
thy grace and goodness.

And although at this time the great
glory which shall be ours as thy
children, heirs and fellow heirs
with Christ, has not yet appeared,
for daily we find ourselves in sin
and suffering, need and want,
nevertheless we know that in thy
presence we have an advocate, thy
beloved Son and our most blessed
high priest.

(Nevertheless we know that in thy
presence we have an advocate Jesus
Christ the righteous, thy beloved

noch täglich noch in trübsalen, angst vnd not leben; yedoch so wissen wir, das
wir ein fürsprecher bey dir haben, Jesum Christum, den gerechten, deynen
allerliebsten suon, vnseren gebenedeyeten vnd obersten priester. Der ist selbs
das opffer vnd die versönung für vnser sünd; vff den sehen wir auch vnd vff
seyne fuossstapffen, wie er hye gelitten hat, das wir auch also leyden vnd
vnser creutz vf vns nemen vnd im nachuolgen. Vnd synd auch vngezwyfelt, so
er nuon in deyner majestat erschnen werd, werden wir auch mit jm erschnen
in der herlichkeit deyner geliebten kyndern. Den glauben vnd dise hoffnung mere,
stercke vnd befestige in vns, allerliebster schöpffer, gott vnd vatter, das vir im
geyst vnd in der warheit mit luterem hertzen mögen betten, wie vns deyn suon
Jesus Christus vnser eygener lerreister, selbs gelert hat vnd sprechen also:

up to thy altar on high, into the presence of thy divine majesty. And may those of us who by taking part in the sacrifice of this altar shall have received the sacred body and blood of thy Son, be filled with every grace and heavenly blessing: through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

(Memento etiam)

Remember also, Lord thy servants N. and N. who have gone before us with the sign of faith and sleep the sleep of peace . . . To them Lord and to all who rest in Christ, grant, we entreat thee, a place of cool repose, of light and peace: through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(Nobis quoque)

To us also thy servants who put our trust in thy countless acts of mercy, deign to grant some share and fellowship with the holy apostles and martyrs: John, Stephen, Mattias, Barnabus, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecily, Anastasia and all thy saints. Into their company we pray to admit us, not weighing our deserts, but freely granting us forgiveness: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

(Per quem haec omnia)

It is ever through him that all these good gifts, created so by thee, Lord, are by thee sanctified, endowed with life, blessed, and bestowed upon us.

Through him, with him and in him, Thou God almighty Father, in the

Son and our most blessed high priest). He himself is the sacrifice and propitiation for our sin;

to him we look, tracing his footsteps that we might take up our Cross and follow him.

And also we have confidence that when he appears in his glory we shall gloriously appear as thy beloved children.

This faith and this hope, increase, strengthen and confirm in us,

Most beloved creator, God and Father,

unity of the Holy Spirit, hast all
honor and glory. World without
end. Amen.

(Pater noster)

Let us pray. Urged by our Savior's
bidding, and schooled by his divine
ordinance, we make bold to say:

That we in spirit and in truth with
fervent hearts might pray as our
only teacher himself has taught us
saying:

Our Father

Our Father

The Communion Invocation of the Church of Strasbourg continued to develop in the same direction with a number of different versions each one offering some variations on the themes of the prayers found in the Canon of the Roman Mass.

By the time Calvin adopted the prayer, the Communion Invocation of the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 was still to a large extent an antithesis to the Latin prayers. We might list the more important antitheses to be found between the Genevan Communion Invocation and the prayers of the Roman Canon. First the idea that "the sacred bread of everlasting life and the cup of eternal salvation" are the Church's offering to God is replaced by the idea that the bread and wine are God's gifts to us. "In steadfast faith may we receive . . . Christ himself . . . the holy bread of heaven which gives us life," reads the Genevan prayer of 1542. Next we see the antithesis between Calvin's "As our Lord Jesus has not only offered his body and blood once on the cross for the remission of our sins . . ." and "we thy servants, Lord, and with us all thy holy people, offer to thy sovereign majesty out of the gifts thou hast bestowed upon us, a sacrifice . . ." of the *Unde et memores*. Then we notice that the mass speaks of the worshipers as servants while the Evangelical prayers clearly express the relation in terms of the Father and his children. In the Genevan prayer God is spoken of as Father four different times and when he is addressed it is always as Father. In the Genevan prayer the worshipers are referred to as the children of God, never as servants. Next we see that the supplication that God might "deign to grant us some share and fellowship with the holy apostles and martyrs" is countered with the assurance that we are the beloved children and heirs of our heavenly Father. We notice that the petition "that Thou wouldst accept" has become "that we might accept." Finally, we observe that the typological references to the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedech have been replaced with the allusion to the Manna.

The Reformers were well aware that the prayers which they removed from the liturgy were ancient prayers. They knew that their roots went back at least as far as Ambrose of Milan. In his *De sacramentis* Ambrose quotes considerable portions of the Canon of the liturgy of Milan. As one can learn from Ambrose himself, the liturgy of his city is not precisely the same as that of Rome and of course the Reformers could see that it was not quite the same as the Roman liturgy of their day. Nevertheless it must have been clear to the Reformers that many of the elements to which they objected were already in the liturgy of the late fourth century.

It is interesting to examine closely the post elevation prayer of the *De sacramentis*.

Therefore, remembering his most glorious passion, his resurrection from Hell, and ascension into Heaven, we offer to thee this pure sacrifice, this reasonable sacrifice, this unbloody sacrifice, this holy bread and cup of eternal life, and we seek and pray that thou wouldst accept this oblation at thy sublime altar through the hands of thine angels, as thou hast received the gifts of thy just servant Abel, the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which Melchisedech offered unto thee¹.

When we compare this to the antitheses worked out by the Reformers to the prayer of the Roman Mass, Ambrose supports the mass in almost every case. The bread and wine are offered to God as a sacrifice, the sacrifice enters the heavenly sanctuary through the hands of angels, and the threefold typology of the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham and Melchisedech are all firmly rooted in the prayer of Ambrose. If the Reformers discarded these prayers it was not through ignorance of their antiquity. As much respect as they may have had for Ambrose, the Reformers could not have done otherwise with these three themes. When the prayer of Ambrose understands the pure, reasonable and unbloody sacrifice to be the bread and wine, the Reformers found this in contradiction to Romans 12:1-2. Beside that, it was an unpardonable mixing of Biblical metaphores².

¹ *De sacramentis*, IV, 27. "Ergo memores gloriosissimae ejus passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis, et in coelum ascensionis, offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum, et calicem vitae aeternae: et petimus et precamur, ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech."

² CR, LXXXIX, 588, 592; BDS, II, 61.

That the angels entered the heavenly sanctuary in behalf of the Church seemed a contradiction of Hebrews, chapter nine¹. As for the three types of the eucharistic sacrifice, the typological use of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedech does not at all correspond with the typological use of these three figures in the New Testament. This was particularly true with Melchisedech who is never recorded to have offered a sacrifice in the Bible but who quite to the contrary was a type of the eternal priesthood of Christ². Why did the Reformers not accept the example of Ambrose? In this case, at least as the Reformers understood it, Ambrose was not a witness to the teaching of Scripture. This is a good example of the limitations which the Reformers put on the authority of the Fathers.

If we are willing to accept that the Reformed Communion Invocation was derived from an Evangelical reworking of the prayers of Epiclesis in the Roman Canon, then we are in a good position to explain why the Reformed prayer does not expressly mention the Holy Spirit. The answer is simply that the Roman Epiclesis on which the Reformed Epiclesis was modeled does not mention the Holy Spirit either.

As much opposition as the Reformers may have had to these prayers and as much as they may have cut out elements of these prayers which Catholic theologians might consider essential, and which the Reformers themselves knew to have been recommended by long centuries of practice; nevertheless, the Reformed Communion Invocation did preserve one essential element in these prayers, the expression of the dependence of our worship upon the graciousness of God, that is the prayers of the Reformation were, as the prayers of the Roman Mass which they were intended to replace, an Epiclesis. That the Communion Invocation of 1542 is to be regarded as an invocation is probably due primarily to its historical roots in the Roman Mass more than to any patristic influence.

¹ CR, LXXXIX, 583-587, 593; BDS, II, 109-110, 488.

² CR, LXXXIX, 593; BDS, II, 489.

b) The Communion Invocation as Thanksgiving

Secondly, the Communion Invocation was to be thought of as a prayer of thanksgiving. There have been those who have not been able to find thanksgiving in this prayer because it is not expressed in some more usual formula such as "we give thee thanks for" followed by a catalogue of the gifts¹. The thanksgiving, however, is expressed more by the means of epithets, adjectives and relative clauses. When we look carefully at the Communion Invocation we do indeed see that it is filled with praise and thanksgiving. The prayer begins by calling upon God the "Heavenly Father, full of goodness and mercy." It continues by gratefully telling of how Christ offered his body and blood upon the cross for the remission of our sins and how he desires to impart them to us as our nourishment unto eternal life. The prayer humbly asks that we be given the body and blood of Christ who in hymnic terms is described as being true God and true man, "the holy bread of Heaven which gives us life." In asking that we might continue to partake of the covenant of grace, God is blessed for having already given us the assurance that he is our gracious Father who never reckons our faults against us but provides for us as his well-beloved children and heirs all our needs both of body and soul. Thus it is that in this prayer "we render praise and thanks unto thee without ceasing."

That the Reformers recognized the Eucharistic Prayer as a prayer of thanksgiving was to a large extent the result of their exegetical work. Early in the Reformation they had come to the conclusion that the prayer which Jesus had said over the bread and wine at the Last Supper was a prayer of thanksgiving. Zwingli, who always gave a strong accent to the element of thanksgiving in the Lord's Supper says in his *De canone missae epichiresis*, ". . . for to bless is not to sign with the cross, as is commonly understood, but to

¹ Recently L. Bouyer in a study of the Eucharistic Prayer has decided that the continental Reformed liturgies have no Eucharistic Prayer. Not recognizing in the Communion Invocation of Geneva and Strasbourg the elements of thanksgiving, he reproaches the continental Reformed Church for having a non-eucharistic Eucharist. Such hurried and superficial investigations are to be regretted. *Eucharistie, théologie et spiritualité de la prière eucharistique* (Tournai, 1966), 378-382. The treatment of W. Reindell is equally lacking in perception. "Die Präfation," *Leiturgia*, II, 502-503.

give thanks"¹. Martin Bucer commenting on the Gospel's account of the Last Supper says that the two Greek words εὐλογέω and εὐχαριστέω usually translated as "bless" and "give thanks" in reality both mean the same thing, that is, to give thanks². Calvin closely following the comments of Bucer, says concerning the prayer of thanksgiving offered by Jesus at the Last Supper:

Whatever gift we receive from the hand of God is sanctified through the word and prayer, as Paul elsewhere says (I Tim. 4:5). For nowhere do we read that our Lord ate with his disciples unless it is also mentioned that he gave thanks. By this example we are certainly taught to do the same. This thanksgiving however has to do with something higher: for Christ gives thanks to his Father for his works of mercy to man and his gracious gift of redemption: and we are invited by his example, that as often as we come to this sacred table we be stirred up and aroused to recognize God's great works of love to us and that we enter into true gratitude³.

It is of the greatest possible importance for understanding Calvin's insight into the meaning of the Eucharist to notice that Calvin brings this text from I Timothy into relation with the Eucharistic Prayer. It is through thanking God for his gifts that they are consecrated to our use (I Timothy 4:4-5). In the Institutes Calvin devotes part of his chapter on prayer to a consideration of the close connection between thanksgiving and invocation⁴. He calls attention to the way both Psalm 50 and Psalm 116 understand the relation of invocation and the sacrifice of thanksgiving. Then he calls attention to the text, "Rejoice in the Lord always . . . in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God." (Philippians 4:4-6). The relation

¹ CR, LXXXIX, 597-598. "quod benedicere non est crucis signare, ut vulgo jam creditur, sed hoc, quod nos dicimus gratiam vel referre vel agere." Ibid., 598.

² Enarrationes perpetuae, in sacra quatuor Evangelia . . . (Strasbourg, 1530), fol. 188^v.

³ CR, LXXVII, 485. "Quidquid percipimus donorum ex manu Dei, sanctificatur nobis per verbum et orationem, inquit alibi Paulus (1. Tim. 4.5). Itaque nusquam legimus Dominum gustasse cum suis panem, quin fiat mentio gratiarum actionis. Quo exemplo nos certe erudit ad idem agendum. Haec autem gratiarum actio altius spectat: agit enim patri gratias Christus de sua erga humanum genus misericordia et inestimabili redemptionis beneficio: nosque suo exemplo invitat, ut quoties ad sacram mensam accedimus, erigamur ad agnitionem immensi erga nos amoris Dei et ad veram gratitudinem accedamus."

⁴ Inst., III, xx, 28.

between thanksgiving and invocation is simply this: through thankfully remembering God's gracious acts in the past we invoke his grace for the present.

c) The Communion Invocation as the Vow of the Covenant

Finally the Communion Invocation is the making or the renewing of our vows, the vows made in baptism, whereby we become participators in the Covenant of Grace, members of the body of Christ and children of God. This we understand from the Communion Invocation of the Genevan Psalter of 1542:

So may we live no longer in our selves, after our nature which is entirely corrupt and vicious, but may he live in us and lead us to the life that is holy, blessed and everlasting: whereby we may truly become partakers of the new and eternal testament, the covenant of grace, assured that it is thy good pleasure to be our gracious Father forever, never reckoning our faults against us, and to provide for us, as thy well-beloved children and heirs, all our needs both of body and soul. Thus may we render praise and thanks unto thee without ceasing and magnify thy name in word and deed¹.

The passage is filled with Scriptural allusions. Romans chapter eight plays an important role. First we find the theme of Christ's dwelling in the life of the faithful. This is followed by the theme of the heritage of the children of God.

4. in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit . . .
10. But if Christ is in you, although your bodies are dead because of sin, your spirits are alive because of righteousness
14. For all who are led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God . . .
16. When we cry "Abba! Father!" it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God, and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ. . . .

The Letter to the Hebrews was no less important in the framing of this part of the Communion Invocation. Particularly chapters eight and nine which are con-

¹ Thompson, LWC, 202.

cerned with explaining the meaning of the New Covenant. The thought that the New Covenant is an eternal covenant is a thought particularly characteristic of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Now may the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the eternal covenant, equip you with every good . . .
(Hebrews 13:20-21a)

The Communion Invocation puts both ideas together:

. . . whereby we may truly become partakers of the new and eternal testament, the covenant of grace, assured that it is thy good pleasure . . . to provide for us . . . all our needs of body and soul¹.

The passage of Hebrews which speaks of the sacrifice of praise is very cautiously alluded to:

Through him let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is the fruit of lips that acknowledge his name. Do not neglect to do good and share what you have, for such sacrifices are pleasing to God.
(Hebrews 13:15-16)

The word "sacrifice" is meticulously avoided, but the idea is to be found in the phrase:

Thus may we render praise and thanks unto thee without ceasing and magnify thy name in word and deed².

The Reformers had early begun to speak of the Lord's Supper in terms of the making of a testament or covenant. Oecolampadius in his *Das Testament Jesu Christi* had emphasized this aspect of the Lord's Supper. In his *Messgutachten* of 1526 Bucer says,

If we really want to follow the example of the Apostles then we should hold a common supper of Christ. When the congregation of Christ comes together we should thank the Lord for his wondrous works and renew our covenant with him and with all believers . . . ³

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ BDS, II, 491. "Wyllman dem nach kommen, so wurt nur blyben ein gemein Nachtmal Christi, wann die gemein Christi zu samen kompt, dem herrenn gemenglich vmb sine grosse gutthat zu danken vnd den Christlichen bundt mit jm vnd allen gloubigen zu erfrischen, gehalten."

Bucer in his commentary on the Gospels speaks of the meaning of the phrase, "This is my blood of the new covenant." He dwells on the subject at some length discussing the doctrine of the new covenant in Hebrews eight and nine as well as the passage on the new covenant in Jeremiah thirty-one. Of special interest, however, is Bucer's reference to Genesis seventeen and Exodus twenty-four. The first of these chapters is the place which speaks of circumcision as the seal of the covenant. The second is the passage which speaks of the sprinkling of the blood of the covenant, followed by the covenant meal where the elders of Israel beheld God and ate and drank¹.

For Calvin also the Lord's Supper can be understood as the renewing or continuing of the covenant which Christ once for all ratified with his blood². In the *Institutes* Calvin says,

The sacraments are like contracts by which the Lord gives us his mercy and from it eternal life; and we in turn promise him obedience. But this is the form, or at least a summary of the vow: that renouncing Satan, we yield ourselves to God's service to obey his holy commandments but not to follow the wicked desires of our flesh (cf., Romans 13:14). It is not to be doubted that this vow, since it is attested by Scripture and indeed is required of all children of God, is holy and salutary. And there is no obstacle in the fact no one can maintain in this life the perfect obedience to the law which God requires of us. For inasmuch as this stipulation is included in the covenant of Grace under which are contained both the forgiveness of sins and the spirit of sanctification, the promise which we make there is joined with a plea for pardon and a petition for help³.

The echo of patristic theology here is, of course, quite clear. Once more we see the influence of the North African understanding of sacramentum. Particularly striking is Calvin's obvious reference to the ancient baptismal renunciation. The passage of Tertullian's *De corona* may well be in Calvin's mind, "We are called upon to make a vow renouncing the devil, his pomp and his angels"⁴. At this point, however, we are particularly concerned with Calvin's statement that the vows which we make at the Lord's Supper are

¹ *Ennarationes perpetuae, in sacra quatuor Evangelia* (Strasbourg: George Ulrich, 1530), fol. 186r-v.

² *Inst.*, IV, xvii, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, xiii, 6.

⁴ *De corona*, III, 2: *contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompae et angelis*. CCSL, I, 1042.

to be accompanied with a plea for pardon and a petition for help. It is just exactly that which we have here in the Communion Invocation of the Genevan Psalter of 1542, the making of a vow, or renewing of a vow together with the invocation of divine aid, "Grant us this grace: that we may receive such a great benefit and gift . . ." We find the same thing again, "So may we live no longer in ourselves, after our nature which is entirely corrupt and vicious, but may He live in us and lead us to the life that is holy, blessed and everlasting."

Of particular importance for Calvin's understanding of the Communion Invocation as a vow are Psalms 50 and 116. In both these psalms we notice that the three things, sacrifice of praise, invocation and the paying of vows are put in a parallel structure. In the Institutes Calvin speaks of four kinds of vows. The first of these four types of vows he calls the vow of thanksgiving. By this he means "vows by which we attest our gratitude for benefits received"¹. As examples of this he gives Genesis 28:20-22; Psalms 22:25, 61:8, 56:12, 116:14, 18. Calvin has evidently taken very seriously the parallel relation in which the words thanksgiving, invocation and vow stand in the psalms.

It is, however, a text from Augustine of Hippo which seems best to explain why the Reformed Communion Invocation is a vow. This passage is quoted by Bucer among the patristic testimonia found in Ein Summarischer vergriff, about which we spoke at length in Chapter II. In a letter to Paulinus of Nola, Augustine tries to explain the four words used for prayer in I Timothy 2:1, δέησις, προσευχή, ἔντευξις, εὐχαριστία, or as they are translated into English, supplication, prayer, intercession and thanksgiving as referring to specific prayers in the liturgy. The second in the list Augustine feels applied to the Eucharistic Prayer. He says:

. . . in the Scriptures εὐχή is usually translated by "vow, . . . properly it ought to be understood as a prayer which is made as a vow, that is πρὸς εὐχὴν. For all things which are offered to God are vowed to him, especially is this true of the gift of the holy altar, by which sacrament another and greater vow is prefigured, in which we pledge ourselves to remain in Christ, especially in the company of the body of Christ. It is this that is the essence of the sacrament, because there is one bread, we being many are one body. Indeed in its sanctification and

¹ Inst. , IV, xiii, 4.

its preparation for distribution, I understand the apostle to have particularly commanded us to make προσευχάς that is prayers, . . . that make a promise¹.

One might ask why this passage from Augustine influenced the Reformed liturgy rather than the passage from the De sacramentis of Ambrose of Milan which we quoted above. The reason would seem to be, quite simply, that the passage of Augustine claimed to be the exegesis of Holy Scripture.

¹ PL, XXXIII, 637, ". . . in Scripturis votum appellatur εὐχή, excepto nomine generali orationis ea proprie intelligenda est oratio, quam facimus ad votum, id est πρὸς εὐχὴν. Voventur autem omnia quae offeruntur Deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio; quo Sacramento praedicatur nostrum illud votum maximum, quo nos vovimus in Christo esse mansuros, vitque in compage corporis Christi. Cujus rei sacramentum est, quod unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus (I Cor. x, 17). Ideo in hujus sanctificationis praeparatione, existimo Apostolum jussisse proprie fieri προσευχάς, id est orationes, vel, ut nonnulli minds perite interpretati sunt, adorationes; hoc est enim ad votum, quod usitatus in Scripturis nuncupatur εὐχή."

C. THE GIVING OF THE COMMUNION EACH LORD'S DAY AND THE
SHARING OF THE CUP WITH THE WHOLE CHURCH¹

The importance which the Reformers gave to these two restorations of the practice of the ancient Church cannot be overstressed. When they spoke about returning to the custom of the ancient Church these two things played an important role in their understanding of that return. In fact, for the Reformers the "Dominical Action" constituted the heart of the sacrament. Rather than seeing in the Eucharistic Prayer or the reciting of the Words of Institution the climax of the liturgy, as had been the case for many centuries, the Reformers emphasized the receiving of the bread and the sharing of the cup. This was to be done in faith and obedience to Christ and with thanksgiving to God for his works of creation and redemption². The fact that the whole congregation did not normally "communicate" and that the cup was regularly denied the members were two of the abuses against which the Reformers most frequently raised their voices³.

¹ For this section of our work we have found the following works especially helpful:

J.J. von Allmen, *Essai sur le repas du Seigneur*, 111-116.

A. Boudinhon, "Canon Law," *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), V, 193-201.

O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, 26-32.

Dictionnaire de droit canonique, ed. by R. Naz (7 vols.; Paris, 1924-1958). (Hereinafter referred to as DDC).

E. Dublanchy, "Communion sous les deux espèce," *DThC*, III, 552-572.

B. Fischer, "Die Kelchkommunion im Abendland, eine historische Skizze,"

Liturgisches Jahrbuch, XVII, 18-32. (Hereinafter referred to as "Die Kelchkommunion").

Markus Jenny, *Die Einheit des Abendmahlsgottesdienstes bei den elsässischen und schweizerischen Reformatoren* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1968).

J.A. Jungmann, *MS*, II, 446-455.

H. Leclercq (O.S.B.), "Communion quotidienne," *DACL*, III, 2457-2465.

W. Rordorf, *Sunday*, 193-237.

² *CR*, XCI, 15-16; *BDS*, I, 211-212; *OS*, II, 14.

³ W.D. Maxwell has misunderstood a major aspect of the thought of the Reformers in this respect. Nothing could have been more foreign to the liturgical theology of the Reformation than a *Missa sicca* or "dry mass." *Genevan Service Book*, 33-36.

1. The Reformers' Appeal to the Usage of the Ancient Church

It is not surprising that the Reformers had discovered that in the ancient Church the bread as well as the wine was shared with the faithful each Lord's Day. Patristic literature is filled with references to both practices. As for the sharing of the cup, it must be remembered that the Middle Ages had never completely forgotten the practice. The practice of the Orthodox may be responsible for inspiring the followers of John Huss to insist on the people's right to the cup. Because of the Bohemians the matter was fully discussed at the Council of Constance at the beginning of the fifteenth century. As for sharing Holy Communion with the faithful each Lord's Day, we find the same thing¹. It was not difficult for anyone at all well read in the works of the Church Fathers to discover that in earlier centuries it had been the practice of the faithful to communicate at least each week. For Calvin the celebration of the Lord's Supper on each Lord's Day was of such importance that he devoted three sub-sections of the Institutes to discussing it. After giving a number of arguments from Scripture, he refers to eight passages of the literature of the ancient Church to support his position².

Because the number of testimonia given by the Reformers is so great, and because these testimonia were often simply taken over from the debates of other centuries, we are not going to embark on an investigation of them all³. We have chosen rather to concentrate on a special type of testimonia presented by Calvin, that is, his testimonia taken from canon law. The literature which at the beginning of the sixteenth century claimed to preserve the legislation of the ancient Church presents many special problems. We hesitate to approach such a complicated field of knowledge without a due sense of our limitations. First, many of the historical problems involving the development of this body of literature have to this day not been completely solved. Second, canon law is a specialized field of knowledge in which an American Protestant cannot help but sense his inadequacy. What we shall attempt to show is

¹ The definitive work on this subject is P. Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter* (Münster in Westphalia, 1938).

² Inst., IV, xvii, 44-46.

³ Cf., Pontien Polman, *L'Elément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle*, 41-44 and 435-441.

that Calvin already at least suspected some of the problems which would become clearer in succeeding centuries, and that, therefore, he treated the material with great caution. We are particularly interested to show that the liturgical revision in the Reformed Church at the time of the Reformation was not to any sizeable extent influenced by the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the apocryphal information which it offered on the history of the early liturgy. We believe that the following examples show clearly enough that the Genevan Reformer realized that although this literature contained much ancient material, it could not be taken at face value.

2. The Sources of Canon Law Available to the 16th Century

The literature which at the time of Calvin claimed to preserve the legislation of the ancient Church was most complex. In our present study, we can do no more than recall the basic outlines of the complicated interrelations of this literature. (1) First we might mention the *Liber pontificalis*¹, a chronical of the official acts of the popes. The oldest part of this work was composed in the sixth century. It contains some older material, however. The material which it offers on the legislation of the popes in regard to the liturgy tends to reflect the practice of the city of Rome at about the beginning of the sixth century but sometimes it preserves older information such as the fact that Pope Gelasius had written Collects and Prefaces for the mass². At the time of Calvin the work did not circulate separately but since it had been used by Pseudo-Isidore, Gratian, and Bartholomaeus Platina, the information as well as the misinformation contained in it was widely disseminated. (2) Next we mention the Roman collection of canon law, the more complete form of which was known as the *Dionysio-Hadriana*³. This had been published by J. Cochlaeus in Mainz in 1525. Another form of the Roman collection, the *Dionysiana* was published in Paris by J. du Tillet in 1540. (3) There was also the official collection of the canons of the Greek Church containing the

¹ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. by L. Duchesne (3 vols.; Paris, 1886).

² *Ibid.*, cxxviii-cxl.

³ J. Rambaud-Buhot, "Denys le petit," DDC, IV, 1131-1152.

decrees of the ecumenical councils as well as a large number of provincial councils, especially those of the fourth century as well as a collection of the canons of African councils and a selection of the canonical letters of various Fathers such as Basil and Gregory Thaumaturgos. We have already spoken of the selection of translations made from these canons by Oecolampadius in 1518. (4) Fourthly, there was the Hispana or Spanish collection¹. This was the best known collection, especially in its expanded form commonly called the Pseudo-Isidorian Collection, published by Jacques Merlin in Paris in 1524². This collection of forged letters supposed to have been written by popes of the first three centuries was inserted into the Hispana, an otherwise genuine collection of church laws, which had been used for some time in Spain. The Hispana was, in fact, the most complete collection of the decrees of the ancient councils which has come down to us. In addition to the decrees of church councils the Hispana contained a sizeable collection of the genuine canonical letters of the popes. These various elements, both the genuine and the forged, had been put together and ascribed to Isidore, presumably Isidore of Seville³. (5) However, the most accurate collection of the legislation of the ancient Church available to the Reformers was that published by Petrus Crabbe, a Belgian Franciscan brother who did an exemplary work in establishing the text of the decrees of the ancient councils. His work was based on a particularly large and good selection of manuscripts which he had gathered from the libraries of France, Germany and the Low Countries. Thanks to his efforts the theologians of the sixteenth century were able to work on accurate texts of the decrees of the ancient councils of the church. Crabbe did, however, include in his collection the Liber pontificalis and the spurious papal letters contained in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection. It is without doubt Petrus Crabbe's Concilia omnia printed in Cologne in 1537 which Calvin used to study the councils⁴. (6) There were also several collections of the letters of the popes. The letters of

¹ R. Naz, "Hispana; collectio," DDC, V, 1159-1162.

² Tomus primus quatuor conciliorum generalium, quadraginta septem conciliorum provincialium authenticorum, decretorum sexaginta novem pontificum ab Apostolis et eorum canonibus usque ad Zachariam primum, Isidore autore (Paris, 1524). Reproduced in PL, CXXX.

³ R. Naz, "Décrétales, fausses," DDC, IV, 1062-1064.

⁴ In regard to Calvin's use of Crabbe, see Smits, Augustin, I, 231-236.

Gregory the Great were well known in the time of Calvin and were to be found in the Paris edition of Gregory's *Omnia opera*. Calvin was familiar with the letters of Leo the Great¹. The letters of Cyprian which were very well known by Calvin also contained considerable information about the legislation of the ancient Church. (7) The best known collection of canon law was that of the twelfth-century Italian monk, Gratian². His *Decretum* was the most popular manual of church law during the Middle Ages. The compiler had collected quotations from the writings of the Fathers, decrees from the early councils, and decisions of the popes which he had arranged in such a way as to make his work a handy reference book for church lawyers. In fact many of the patristic quotations found in the Reformers had been gleaned from Gratian. Unfortunately, Gratian had made much use of Pseudo-Isidorian material³. (8) Finally, we should mention the early Renaissance church historian Bartholomaeus Platina who in his chronicle of the early popes often propagated much legendary material.

3. Examples of Calvin's Use of Canon Law

First, let us look at the way Calvin uses a canon attributed to Pope Anacletus. The Reformer is developing his argument in favor of a frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Luke relates in the Acts that this was the practice of the apostolic church, when he says that believers ". . . continued in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and in prayers" (Acts 2: 42, cf., Vg). Thus it became the unvarying rule that no meeting of the church should take place without the Word, prayers, partaking of the Supper, and almsgiving. That this was the established order among the Corinthians also, we can safely infer from Paul (cf., I Corinthians 11:20). And it remained in use for many centuries after.

¹ Inst., IV, vii, 11.

² J. deGhellinck and A. Villien, "Gratien," DThC, VI, 1727-1751.

³ For Calvin's use of Gratian see A. Ganoczy, *Le jeune Calvin* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 179-186. We suspect that Calvin had other grounds than the example of Luther for not taking Gratian too seriously. See also Smits, Augustin, I, 206-211.

Hence arose ancient canons attributed by them to Anacletus and Calixtus, that after the consecration is finished, all who do not wish to be outside the precincts of the church should partake¹.

Calvin undoubtedly knew this canon from at least two sources. The most obvious source is Gratian's Decretum². Gratian had gotten the canon from one of those letters fabricated by Pseudo-Isidore³. One sees from the context that Pseudo-Isidore, as Gratian after him, is not interested in the communion of the faithful but rather that when the bishop celebrates, the priests and deacons who assist him are all to communicate. If Gratian had been his sole source we could accuse Calvin of twisting his sources but Calvin had other sources. It seems likely that here Calvin is relying on Platina⁴. Platina tells us that Anacletus "taught to all the faithful, that when the consecration has been accomplished they should communicate, for in truth those who do not wish to communicate should be put out of the sacred building." Quite probably the canon, which according to the various redactors of the lives of the popes came from Anacletus, goes back originally to the canon of the Council of Antioch about which we will speak in a moment.

Here we see that Calvin doubts both Gratian and Platina in the claim that this canon has such an antiquity that it should be ascribed to Anacletus, who according to the oldest lists of bishops of the Roman Church was the second successor to the Apostle Peter. The reference to Calixtus we are not yet able to explain. Calvin is, however, perfectly willing to ascribe a certain antiquity to the canon.

Secondly, Calvin quotes one of the Apostolic Canons:

And in those old canons which they call "apostolic" we read: "Those who do not stay until the end, and do not receive the sacred communion, should be corrected as disturbers of the church"⁵.

¹ Inst., IV, xvii, 44.

² Corpus iuris canonici, ed. by Aemilius Friedberg, (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1879-1881), I, 1311.

³ Paulus Hinschius, Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae (Leipzig, 1863), 70.

⁴ Bartolomeus Platina, Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum, ed. by Giacinto Gaida (Città di Castello, 1932) in Rerum italicarum scriptores, ed. by G. Carducci and V. Fiorini, III, 18. (Hereinafter referred to as omnium pontificum).

⁵ Inst., IV, xvii, 44.

Calvin could have found this canon in a number of places. It is quoted by Gratian¹. The Apostolic Canons had, in fact, been in circulation in the Western Church for some time. Basically the Apostolic Canons represent a late fourth-century Syrian re-working of material which for the most part is to be found in the Church councils of the fourth century such as Nicaea (325), Laodicaea (372) and especially the Council of Antioch (341). The Apostolic Canons are either included in or were early joined to the Apostolic Constitutions². Early in the sixth century a translation was made in Rome by the Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus, who gathered together the first collection of Roman canon law. The translation did not, however, completely correspond with the collection preserved in Greek³. The most notable difference was that the Western translation contained only fifty of the eighty-five canons in the Greek collection. The Latin translation of these canons was included in the Dionysio-Hadriana which Pope Adrian I presented to Charlemagne in 774 A.D. They were also to be found in the collection of Pseudo-Isidore. Oecolampadius knew the Greek version from the codex of Greek canon law from which he translated selections in 1518. Both versions were presented by Crabbe in 1538 when he published his *Concilia omnia*. We can assume that Calvin had a knowledge of this canon not only from Gratian but also some other source such as the Greek or Latin versions in Crabbe. He does not even mention the gloss which is found in Gratian which suggests quite another interpretation than Calvin gives the canon. As a lawyer, Calvin knew that he was perfectly within his right to ignore the glosses. Calvin knew that it was the text of the canon which was important and not Gratian's interpretation of the text. Calvin was without doubt correct in doubting that the canon was from the Apostles. As a matter of fact, the canon probably comes from the Council of Antioch (341 A.D.) and is therefore really the same canon which Calvin takes up next.

¹ *Corpus iuris canonici*, I, 1311.

² Cf., Bardenhewer, *Altkirchliche Literatur*, IV, 266; C.J. Hefele and H. Leclercq (O.S.B.), *Histoire des conciles* (10 vols.; Paris, 1907-1938), I, 1203-1221; G. Bardy, "Canons apostoliques," DDC, II, 1288-1295.

³ For the Latin of Dionysius Exiguus, see *Sacrorum conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio*, ed. by Joannes Dominicus Mansi (Florence, 1759), I, 31-32. In the Greek it is number ten and in the Latin number nine.

Thirdly, Calvin finds support in the decrees of the Council of Antioch (341 A.D.) and the Council of Toledo (400 A.D.).

In the Council of Antioch, also, it was decreed that those who enter the church and hear the Scriptures and abstain from communion should be removed from church until they correct this fault. Although this was softened or at least set forth in milder language at the First Council of Toledo, still it was also decreed that those who, having heard the sermon, have been found never to communicate are to be warned; if, after warning, they still abstain, they are to be excluded¹.

Again we ask what might have been Calvin's source of information for his knowledge of these two councils. Undoubtedly he knew that the canon of the Council of Toledo was to be found in Gratian's *Decretum*². He may have known them in Merlin's *Concilia* published in Paris in 1524. We are more inclined to think that he used the edition of Petrus Crabbe. Again this seems most probable to us because Calvin does not mention the glosses of Gratian. What is most interesting is that Calvin casts no doubt whatsoever on the authenticity of these decrees. The current state of research would essentially agree with him³.

Fourthly, Calvin discusses a passage of Bartholomaeus Platina⁴, which claims that Pope Zephyrinus (c. 199-217 A.D.) established that "all Christians having reached the age of puberty are to receive communion publicly at Easter". According to Calvin, there were those who claimed that this decree was the origin of the practice of offering Communion to the faithful but once a year. Calvin claims that this is certainly not the case because the practice surely does not go back to such an early date.

They say that Zephyrinus was the author of this decree, although it is not believable that it was in the form in which we have it. For perhaps by this ordinance he did not provide too badly for the church, as times were then. For there is not the least doubt that a majority of them took communion but since all scarcely ever happened to take communion at once, and since it was necessary for those who were mingled with profane

¹ Inst., IV, xvii, 44.

² Corpus iuris canonici, I, 1320.

³ Hefele-Leclercq, Histoire des conciles, I, 706-714. There is a certain question about whether the Church Consecration Council which had affirmed the removal of Athanasius was the same Council of Antioch which enacted the universally accepted canons, but for our interest that is beside the point.

⁴ Omnium pontificum, III, 32.

and idolatrous men to attest their faith through some outward sign -- the holy man for the sake of order and polity, appointed that day on which all Christian people should, by partaking of the Lord's Supper, make a confession of faith. Posterity wickedly distorted Zephyrinus' otherwise good ordinance, when a definite law was made to have communion once a year¹.

Up to the present we have not been able to trace the origin of this story which attributes this canon to Pope Zephyrinus. Interestingly enough, Calvin is willing to accept the possibility that the story does preserve genuine tradition but he suggests that it has to do with what Roman Catholics today call their "Easter obligation" rather than limiting communion to Easter. A simple reading of Platina's text would tend to support Calvin in the latter but because the text includes the words "All Christians who have reached the age of puberty . . ." thus assuming that people are normally baptized as children, it suggests that the text comes from a time at least after the fifth or sixth centuries.

Finally, we come across the section which argues against withholding the cup from the faithful. The passage is filled with the scorn of a young man for the dark entanglement of past centuries.

. . . why from that better age, even to a thousand years after the apostles, did all, without exception, partake of both symbols? . . . There are extant church histories, there are books of ancient writers, which give clear evidence of this fact. . . . But why do I argue over a thing so well known? Let all the Greek and Latin writers be read, and such evidence will be found in abundance².

Either in the text or in the marginal notes, Calvin mentions passages by Tertullian, Theodoret, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Gelasius I, and Cyrilian. One of the passages which he quotes in his text is of particular interest, namely that of Pope Gelasius I:

For so speaks Gelasius: "We have found that some, receiving only the portion of the sacred body, refrain from the cup. Doubtless, since they seem to be bound by some sort of superstition, they are either to receive the sacraments entire or to be entirely barred from them." For this mystery cannot be divided without great sacrilege. . . . That the canonists restrict that decree of Gelasius to the priests is too childish a quibble to require refutation³.

¹ Inst., IV, xvii, 46.

² Inst., IV, xvii, 48-49.

³ Inst., IV, xvii, 49.

We want to point out a number of things about this passage. First, is the fact that all we have of this letter is the fragment which Gratian has preserved for us. Quite probably Gratian did have a larger collection of Gelasius' letters than has come down to us¹. Without a doubt Gratian's quotation was also Calvin's only source. As we know, Calvin had no objection to denying the genuineness of Gratian's quotations. In this case he accepted the quotation as genuine. Then we notice that Calvin claims that for the first thousand years the celebrant shares the cup with the congregation. In this he is in accord with the most recent research². Next we notice that Calvin quite expressly separates the text reprinted in Gratian from Gratian's gloss which claimed that this rule had only applied to the celebrant. Again Calvin's point of view seems correct³. Finally, we notice Calvin's appeal to the whole body of patristic literature and church historians. It is in the context of the history of the Church, drawn from documents of dependable authority, that Calvin rejects the gloss of Gratian. The writings of a Theodoret, whose Ecclesiastical History was completed in 460 A. D., or a Gregory the Great, whose pontificate was a hundred years later, are a better interpretation of a text of Gelasius (492-496) than Gratian who lived more than six hundred years afterward.

4. Reasons Behind Calvin's Treatment of Canon Law

We have taken up five examples of Calvin's use of the literature which claimed to present the legislation of the ancient Church. First he quotes a canon taken from one of the forged letters supposed to come from the first-century Pope Anacletus. Secondly he quotes a canon which is supposed to have come from the Apostles. Thirdly he quotes two genuine canons from the Councils of Antioch and Toledo. Fourthly he passes on a story from Platina

¹ Migne offers only fifteen letters in addition to numerous fragments, among which is this fragment preserved by Gratian. (PL, LIX, 13-156). Andreas Thiel in his *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae* (Braunsberg, 1868), gives us 43 letters and 49 fragments of letters. The collection of papal letters discovered in a manuscript in the British Museum in the last century, published by S. Loewenfeld, *Epistolae pontificum romanorum ineditae* (Leipzig, 1885), has increased the total to about sixty, but our letter has not yet been found.

² B. Fischer, "Die Kelchkommunion," 21.

³ *Ibid.*, 20.

which had commonly been used as the *Stiftungsgeschichte* for the practice of the infrequent receiving of communion. Finally he quotes a letter of Gelasius I which he has found in Gratian.

We want to make the following observations. Four of the six canons mentioned are used by Gratian. In each case Calvin has given a different interpretation of the text than Gratian. In each case Calvin correctly denies the interpretation of Gratian. Except for the decrees of the Council of Toledo and of Antioch, Calvin doubts the antiquity claimed for the canons in question but nevertheless admits that basically the material is ancient. Again Calvin was reasonably correct. With this we do not intend to claim that Calvin was a particularly brilliant student of canon law. We wish to show only one thing: Calvin did not accept the authority of this literature at face value. He was not being arbitrary in this. He had three very specific reasons for treating these sources with suspicion.

First, Calvin knew enough about the law to know how to separate a gloss from a text. He had the pure texts without Gratian's glosses in any number of other sources such as Merlin's or Crabbe's editions of the texts of the councils. After all, as Calvin knew, it is the text of the council or the decree of a particular pope which the canon lawyer accepts as authority. The interpretation of Gratian has never had any official authority, as honored as it may have been. That Calvin understands this is quite clear from his remarks about the letter of Pope Gelasius.

Secondly, Calvin had suspicions about the genuineness of Gratian's sources. We must not forget that Calvin as a student of civil law had studied under one of the great Italian Humanist scholars of the law, Alciat at the University of Bourges. The problems of the genuineness of the source documents for canon law were not very different from the problems in civil law. It would be hard to imagine that Calvin did not know that both Erasmus and George Cassander regarded the Isidorian decretals, one of the chief sources of Gratian's work, as a forgery. In any case, we know that Calvin considered at least some of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals to be forgeries¹. Highly respected Catholic scholars before him such as Nicolas of Cusa and Juan de Torquemada also had suspicions about Pseudo-Isidore, but it would be left to David Blondel, the brilliant seveneenth-century French Reformed patristic scholar to show conclusively that a

¹ Inst., IV, vii, 9 and 11.

large number of the papal letters in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection were forged¹.

Thirdly, Calvin preferred in making decisions about the history of the Church to rely on literature of a proven historical worth. We have already quoted the following words of Calvin:

There are extant church histories, there are books of ancient writers, which give clear evidence of this fact. . . . But why do I argue over a thing so well known? Let all the Greek and Latin writers be read, and such evidence will be found in abundance².

For Calvin the histories of Eusebius, Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret and the writings of Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine and other Fathers were a much more accurate source of history. With the aid of these writings, one could exercise a critique on that literature of uncertain historical worth which made up at that time the sources of canon law. For instance, Calvin knew from Augustine and Ambrose that at the end of the fourth century the custom of the faithful of going to the Eucharist only to see it performed while abstaining from communion had begun to become widespread in the East but that it had not yet begun to be a serious problem in Italy and Africa. Calvin knew that a generation after the Council of Antioch, John Chrysostom was preaching against the practice of the congregation abstaining from the communion³. Within the historical context, which became clear from the writings of Chrysostom, Augustine and Ambrose, these canons of the Council of Antioch and the Council of Toledo are easy to understand. Today we can have a much more sympathetic understanding for the problems of Gratian to whom these canons were undoubtedly quite puzzling, but at the same time we can also see that in this case at least Calvin's historical method was not at all arbitrary.

But in the last analysis, the Reformers insisted on the weekly sharing of the eucharistic bread and wine by the whole congregation of God's people, not because canon law required it, nor for any other merely legal consideration, but rather because they had been sincerely moved by the stirring words of a John Chrysostom or a Cyprian. To Calvin's ears their words were true to Scripture.

¹ David Blondel, *Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus Vapulans* (Geneva, 1628).

² *Inst.*, IV, xvii, 48-49.

³ *Inst.*, IV, xvii, 45.

. . . those reasons of Cyprian which, of course, ought to move a Christian mind. "How," he says, "do we teach or call upon them to shed their blood in confession of Christ, if we deny Christ's blood to those about to fight? Or how do we make them fit for the cup of martyrdom, if we do not first in the church by the right of communion admit them to drink the cup of the Lord?"¹

Even more moving was John Chrysostom's great sermon on Ephesians which read in its entirety must have moved many a Reformer.

Whoever does not partake of the mysteries is wicked and shameless to be present there. I beg of you, if anyone, invited, comes to a banquet, washes his hands, reclines at table, and seems to get ready to eat, and tastes nothing — does he not dishonor both the banquet and the host? So, when you stand with those who prepare themselves with prayer to receive the most holy food, in the fact that you have not withdrawn, you have confessed that you are one of the number, but at the end you do not partake! Would it not be better for you not to have been present? I am unworthy, you say. Therefore, you were also not worthy of the communion of prayer, which is the preparation for receiving the sacred mystery².

Unfortunately, Calvin seems to have had no more success at persuading the Genevans to partake of Holy Communion each Lord's Day than John Chrysostom had in persuading the Christians of Antioch.

¹ Inst., IV, xvii, 49 quoting Epistles, LVII, 2. (CSEL, III, 652).

² Inst., IV, xvii, 45. The quotation we have taken from the text of the Institutes. The original text of Chrysostom is considerably longer. Calvin has given us a summary of the argument. Cf., NPNF, XIII, 63-65.

D. POST-COMMUNION THANKSGIVING¹

In studying the early worship of the Reformed Church one cannot help but notice the great importance played by the Post-communion. The Reformed Post-communion is for the most part made up of the Post-communion Thanksgiving, a prayer of thanksgiving for the grace of the sacrament, and a Post-communion Hymn, such as Psalm 103, Psalm 113, or the Song of Simeon. Closely related to the Post-communion Hymn is the Communion Psalm, which we will also consider in this section.

1. Development of the Reformed Post-communion Thanksgiving

In the Strasbourg German Mass of 1524 we find that the priest recites the *Nunc dimittis* after his communion². This was in all probability one of the many traditional private prayers of the celebrant which abounded in the mass of the late Middle Ages. It had evidently been a custom that had great meaning at the time immediately before the Reformation because we find it recommended by several Reformers. We find it in Kasper Kantz's German Mass of 1522 and in Zwingli's *De canone missae epichiresis* of 1523³.

In the Strasbourg German Mass of 1524 the priest's private recitation of the Song of Simeon was followed by the singing of Luther's communion hymn, "Gott sey gelobet". This hymn is not primarily a hymn of thanksgiving, although there are, to be sure, elements of praise and thanksgiving. It is rather a supplication that the gift of communion might take effect.

¹ Particularly significant on this subject is the treatment of J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (3rd ed.; Göttingen, 1960), 246-252. See also J.A. Jungmann, *MS*, I, 520-527.

² The Strasbourg German Church Service of 1525 (C) is the last liturgy to mention the *Nunc dimittis* as a private prayer of the celebrant after his communion. It reappears as a congregational hymn in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1530 (G) in a version by Johannes Englisch, one of the Strasbourg pastors. This version is found together with Luther's version in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 (J).

³ Smend, *Evangelische deutsche Messen*, 77. CR. LXXXIX 608.

This is followed by a translation of the Latin collect which Luther had recommended in his *Formula missae* of 1523¹.

Grant, O Lord, that what we have received with our mouths, we might accept with pure hearts, and that this temporal food might be for us an eternal medicine, through Jesus Christ our Lord².

As we see, the Reformed Post-communion Thanksgiving has not yet begun to appear.

In the First Zurich Service Book of 1525 we find an exemplary Reformed Post-communion. It begins with the following rubric, "Afterwards, the people having eaten and drunk, thanks are given according to the example of Christ, by the use of Psalm 113." The psalm was to be recited by the congregation in an antiphonal arrangement between the men and the women. The pastor follows this by offering a very short collect of thanksgiving³. It would seem that the choice of Psalm 113 is no random choice. It was chosen because it was the first psalm in the Great Hallel, that is the six psalms, 113-118, which were traditionally sung at the conclusion of the Passover⁴. These psalms, according to Paul of Burgos, were the psalms sung by Jesus at the Last Supper⁵. It was in the singing of these psalms that the Passover liturgy celebrated the

¹ Thompson, LWC, 113.

² Hubert, *liturgischen Ordnungen*, 74-75.

³ Thompson, LWC, 155.

⁴ Cf., Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlswörter Jesu*, 246-247.

⁵ *Postilla fratris Nicolai de Lyra cum additionibus pauli episcopi Burgesis* (Nuremberg, 1493), II. The pages are not numbered; the passage is to be found in the commentary on Psalm 112. We suggest that Zwingli got this information from Paul of Burgos because it is here that Bucer has found the information. (Bucer, *Enarrationes* . . . , fol. 191v). Paul of Burgos, 1351-1435, a Spanish Jew who was baptized in 1390 and became bishop of Burgos, is well known for his defense of the "spiritual exegesis" of Scripture. He wrote a series of notes or *Additiones* to the commentaries of Nicolas of Lyra (c. 1270-1349). *Postillae perpetuae in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*. Paul of Burgos felt that Nicolas of Lyra had been too much influenced by the literal exegesis of the rabbis such as Rabbi Schelomo Jizchaki, called Raschi (1040-1105). The *Postillae* of Nicolas of Lyra, a very influential work at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was almost always printed with the *Additiones* in which the Spanish bishop tried to balance the "literalism" of Nicolas of Lyra. For evidence that Zwingli knew Paul of Burgos, see W. Köhler, "Zwingli Bibliothek," Nr. 50.

redemption of Israel from Egypt and hoped for the coming of the Messiah. Zwingli was well aware of this when he chose the psalm.

Another early Reformed liturgy, the Memmingen Service Book of 1529, gives us a well-developed Post-communion. Psalms are sung as the people come forward to receive communion. This is followed by an admonition to offer prayers of praise to God for his redemptive work in Christ. The deacons recite Psalm 113 antiphonally. This is followed by an admonition to live the Christian life as the true thanksgiving to God. Then there is a reciting of the Ten Commandments¹. This emphasis on purity of life and sincerity of Christian service as the true thanksgiving is a constant feature of the Reformed Post-communion.

We find another expression of the same general tendency in Augsburg. The Augsburg Service Book of 1530 follows the Communion with an admonition to prayers of thanksgiving. In this admonition we find, not at all to our surprise, an allusion to Psalm 50:14-15 and the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. In the Augsburg Service Book of 1537 the admonition has given way to a prayer of thanksgiving, similar to that which appears in the Strasbourg psalter of the same year². By 1530, the Post-communion Thanksgiving and the Post-communion Hymn had become a regular feature of the worship of the early Reformed Church. This we see from the fact of its place in the order of worship found in the apology written by Bucer for the Confessio Tetrapolitana³.

The Strasbourg Post-communion was considerably changed with the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 (J). The aspect of thanksgiving has been strongly accentuated. First we notice that Luther's hymn, "Gott sey gelobet" can be replaced "by psalms appropriate to the occasion." Almost the complete Great Hallel was to be found among the psalms included in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 (J). Luther's setting of Psalm 113⁴ had been used as early as the Strasbourg German Church Service of 1525 (C). For the Strasbourg Psalter of 1530 (G), Matthieu Greiter, Strasbourg's renowned

¹ Sehling, Kirchenordnungen, XII, 245-246.

² Ibid., 42-43, 81.

³ BDS, III, 291-292.

⁴ K.F.P. Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied, 802.

organist, had produced beautiful versions of Psalm 114 and Psalm 115¹. Johann Agricola, a student and friend of Luther's, had produced a version of Psalm 117² and Johannes Schweinitzer, a Strasbourg printer and poet, had provided a versification of Psalm 118³. We can be sure that these psalms were often used at this place in the liturgy. We should also mention the hymn of Claus Keller which appears for the first time in the same Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 (J)⁴ under the title "A Hymn of Thanksgiving to be Sung after the Lord's Supper." In the first stanza the hymn thanks God for the gift of communion. The second and third stanzas remind us that true thanksgiving is offered to God in the living of a purer life and in service to the hungry, the sick and the pilgrim. The hymns or psalms having been finished, the minister then offers one of three new Post-communion Thanksgivings which appear for the first time in the Strasbourg Psalter of 1537 (J). All three prayers are quite similar. The meaning of this Post-communion is clear. Having received the gifts of God's grace we offer to him the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. We offer to him the sacrifice which is according to his word. This was to be done after having received the signs of God's grace, not before. Simply put, the Strasbourg Reformers moved the Offertory from before the Communion to after the Communion⁵.

The Genevan Post-communion Thanksgiving is likewise highly developed. During the Communion, according to the French Evangelical Psalter of 1542, that is, the liturgy Calvin used in Strasbourg, Psalm 138 is sung. This psalm of thanksgiving is especially appropriate to be sung during the Communion. The rubrics of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 indicate only that several psalms are to be sung during the distribution. In the small French church at Strasbourg one psalm of three stanzas was enough. St. Peters in Geneva is a large church and anyone who has witnessed a communion service there will realize that one psalm of three stanzas would not have been sufficient.

¹ Ibid., 281 and 282.

² Ibid., 230.

³ Ibid., 540.

⁴ Ibid., 591.

⁵ Cf., A.B. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church*, 172.

even if passages of Scripture were read between each stanza. An investigation of the psalms available to the Genevan Church for the occasion would suggest a number of psalms which might have been used. Psalm 22 is the most obvious choice, especially for Good Friday. It was traditionally explained as the psalm said by Jesus on the cross. In his commentary Calvin explains the psalm as a prophecy of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. For similar reasons Psalm 24 might be used for Ascension. Calvin explains the psalm in terms of the Church's hope and expectation of the coming of the Kingdom of God. Psalm 51 might well have been used at Pentecost because of its references to the Holy Spirit and the nature of true sacrifice. The two psalms 103 and 104, the one a hymn of thanksgiving for the redemptive works of God and the other a hymn of thanksgiving for the work of Creation, would both be appropriate¹. Of the psalms of the Great Hallel we find Psalms 113, 114 and 115. From this it can be immediately seen that the texts of the psalms used in the celebration are most important factors in considering the meaning of the Genevan liturgy. Anyone who does not take into account the psalms which were sung in the celebration will completely miss a major element of the praise and thanksgiving in the early Reformed liturgy. The worshipers of sixteenth-century Geneva did not, of course, overlook this part of the liturgy because that was the part they sang! It is characteristic of Reformed worship that the doxological texts are sung by the congregation rather than read by the minister². That these doxological texts are the most important of the Reformed liturgical texts is manifest by the fact that Reformed churches tend to call their liturgical books "psalters" rather than "prayer books."

After the Communion the following Post-communion Thanksgiving was used.

Heavenly Father, we offer thee eternal praise and thanks that thou hast granted so great a benefit to us poor sinners, having drawn us into the Communion of thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, whom thou hast delivered to death for us, and whom thou givest us as the meat and drink of life eternal. Now grant us this other benefit: that thou wilt never allow us to forget these things; but having them imprinted on our hearts, may we grow and increase daily in the faith which is at work in every good deed. Thus may we order and pursue all our life to the exaltation of thy glory and the

¹ The Scottish custom of singing Psalm 103 as a Post-communion Psalm goes back to the English-speaking congregation of Geneva. They may well have followed the use of the Church of Geneva in this matter.

² Inst. , III, xx, 31.

edification of our neighbor; through the same Jesus Christ, thy Son, who in the unity of the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth with thee, O God, forever. Amen¹.

It is essentially the same prayer which we have found in Strasbourg and Augsburg. We notice one thing new in Calvin's prayer. God is thanked not only for his redemptive work in Christ and the application of this redemption to us, but also we find an allusion to the writing of his covenant in our hearts. The prayer shows a profound spiritual insight. It is the best commentary we know on what the Reformed Church has always meant by the eucharistic memorial. To remember Christ is to offer praise and thanks to God not only for the work of redemption which he once and for all accomplished in Christ, but also for the application he now makes of this redemption to us by feeding us unto eternal life. To remember Christ at his Supper is to have him imprinted on the tablets of our hearts and enter into a covenant with him. It is to be nourished so that we grow in the kind of faith that expresses itself in good works. In the end we remember Christ by a thanksgiving that expresses itself in living the whole of life to the glory of God and in helping our neighbor².

In the French Evangelical Psalter of 1542 the Post-communion Thanksgiving is followed by the singing of the Song of Simeon in the version of Clement Marot as the Post-communion Hymn. The tune to this version is especially memorable and is still sung in French-speaking Reformed Churches today. This custom was probably continued in Geneva because we see that the *Nunc dimittis* appears in the Genevan Psalter of 1542. It would also seem quite possible that Psalm 113 or 103 were also used as the Post-communion Hymn.

2. The Significance of this Development

As we look at the development of the Reformed Post-communion it would seem that its roots reach more to Zurich than to Basel or Strasbourg, although

¹ Thompson, LWC, 208.

² It is to be regretted that this last phrase has traditionally been translated by "and to the edification of our neighbor."

the other Reformed Churches seem to have adopted the idea rather rapidly. We are not surprised at this because Zwingli's emphasis on the eucharistic nature of the Lord's Supper was especially strong. Reformed theologians have often lost sight of the validity of Zwingli's emphasis on the Lord's Supper as a joyful thanksgiving and a brotherly fellowship or communion¹. Perhaps the best insight we have into Zwingli's meaning of Anamnesis is the beautiful collect with which the communion service of the First Zurich Service Book of 1525 begins:

Almighty, Eternal God, whom all creatures rightly honor, worship and praise as their Lord, Creator and Father: grant us poor sinners that with real constancy and faith we may perform thy praise and thanksgiving, which thine only begotten Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, hath commanded the faithful to do in memory of His death; through the same Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee in unity with the Holy Spirit, God forever and ever. Amen².

With all the simplicity and clarity of the classical Roman collects Zwingli has shown us the place thanksgiving and praise occupy in his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The memorial which Christ has commanded us to make is not a simple intellectual act of recalling to mind, but a celebration of praise and thanksgiving for the redemptive work of Christ.

Bucer's words are just as clear: "In the Lord's Supper the riches of the Lord, which he gave us in his death, should be so remembered that we worship him alone and that in Spirit and truth"³. The memorial is thanksgiving and praise and the true praise of God is the praise of the Church living in purity and love. This, as the Reformers never ceased to point out in their commentaries on Psalms 50, 51, 116 and the many related passages of both Old and New Testament, is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving⁴. To truly celebrate the Lord's

¹ Two recent studies have put the subject in its proper light:

J. Courvoisier, *Zwingli, théologien réformé*, 78-84 and B. Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation*, 54, n. 93.

² Thompson, *LWC*, 151.

³ BDS, II, 507. "Bey dem Nachtmal solt man der guthe gottes, der seinen sun fur vnss in tod geben hat, also erjnnert werden, das wir von hertzen jm allein jm geist vnd der worheit anbetteten. . . ."

⁴ Cf., Calvin's commentary on Psalm 50 (CR, LIX, 501-502). It was a theme which the Reformers found fully developed in Irenaeus, as Bullinger at a rather early date had pointed out, *De origine erroris*, fol. a8^v-b^r.

Supper, Bucer tells us, is to come together and to give thanks to the Lord for his wondrous works¹. Essentially the Lord's Supper is "eucharistia, that is thanksgiving, and communio, that is fellowship"². The rediscovery and renewed emphasis on the Lord's Supper as εὐχαριστία and κοινωνία by the first generation of Reformed theologians was a positive and valid contribution, whatever else one may feel about their denials of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Calvin does not give thanksgiving as important a place in his consideration of the Lord's Supper as do Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bucer and the earlier Reformed theologians. This is because Calvin is concerned above all to speak of God's activity in the sacraments. "The Supper is a gift of God which ought to be received with thanksgiving"³. For Calvin thanksgiving belongs with communion because communion is a gift and when one receives a gift it is appropriate that one give thanks.

We previously discussed how the Sacrament of the Sacred Supper serves our faith before God. But, the Lord here not only recalls to our memory, as we have already explained, the abundance of his bounty, but, so to speak, gives it into our hand and arouses us to recognize it. At the same time he admonishes us not to be ungrateful for such lavish beneficence, but rather to proclaim it with fitting praises and to celebrate it with thanksgiving. Therefore, when he gave the institution of the Sacrament itself to the apostles, he taught them to do it in remembrance of him (Luke 22:19). This Paul interpreted as "to declare the Lord's death" (I Corinthians 11:26), that is, with a single voice to confess openly before men that for us the whole assurance of life and salvation rests upon the Lord's death, that we may glorify him by our confession, and by our example exhort others to give glory to him. Here again the purpose of the Sacrament is made clear, that is, to exercise us in the remembrance of Christ's death. For the command to us to "declare the Lord's death till he come" (I Corinthians 11:26) in judgment means nothing else than that we should by the confession of our mouth declare what our faith recognizes in the Sacrament: that the death of Christ is our life. Here is the second use of the Sacrament, which pertains to outward confession⁴.

Plainly Calvin shares the understanding of thanksgiving of the earlier Reformed theologians even if he has not given it quite as important a place.

¹ BDS, II, 491.

² BDS, II, 474. ". . . das es also eucharistia, das ist dancksagung, vnd communio, das ist ein gemeinschaft, sye."

³ Inst., IV, xvii, 7.

⁴ Inst., IV, xvii, 37.

3. Scriptural Roots

We would not want to lose sight of the fact that the development of the Reformed Post-communion Thanksgiving is primarily due to the Reformers' concern to follow the example of Christ in celebrating the Lord's Supper. As Calvin says:

For completely following the directions of our Lord there is one other thing which ought to be done, confess with our mouth how much the Lord has loved us, and to thank him not only that he might be glorified but our neighbor might be aided¹.

As both the Gospel of Matthew (26:30) and the Gospel of Mark (14:26) tell us the Last Supper was ended with the singing of a hymn: "And when they had sung a hymn they went out to the Mount of Olives." Bucer specifically called attention to this fact. In his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew he says, "Noticing above all that our Lord both began and finished the Supper with the praise of God, so it is fitting for us to do the same . . ."² The Biblical root for the Post-communion Thanksgiving was both strong and obvious.

4. Patristic Roots

If it is true that the Scriptural root of the Post-communion Thanksgiving was primary, it is also true that the practice was confirmed by the Fathers. The Reformers knew that there had been a Post-communion Thanksgiving in the worship of the ancient Church. Three passages of the Fathers seem to have had

¹ Os, I, 513. "Nous devons aussi, pour bien accomplir l'ordre du Seigneur apporter une autre affection: c'est de confesser de bouche et témoigner combien nous sommes redevables à notre Sauveur et lui rendre action de grâce, non seulement à fin que son nom soit glorifié en nous, mais aussi à fin d'édifier les autres, . . ."

² Enarrationes perpetuae, in sacra quatuor Evangelia. . . . fol. 191v. "Notandum praeterea Dominum à laude Dei, et caenam incepisse, et finisse, id et nos decebit, . . ."

particular importance. The first was from Augustine, the second from Tertullian and the third from Chrysostom¹.

First we have in Augustine's letter to Paulinus of Nola a reference to a Post-communion Thanksgiving. We have already indicated that this letter seems to have been an important source of the Reformers' knowledge of the worship of the ancient Church. We have also spoken of the way Augustine attempts to apply the four words for prayer which Paul uses in I Timothy 2:1, that is, δέσις, supplication; προσευχή, prayer; ἑντευξις, intercession and εὐχαριστία, thanksgiving, to four prayers in the liturgy. Strangely enough, when Augustine speaks of the Eucharistic Prayer he does not mention thanksgiving, but rather applies the Greek word, προσευχή, that is, a prayer which is said as the making of a vow. It is rather to the Post-communion Thanksgiving that Augustine applies the word εὐχαριστία or "thanksgiving."

Having finished these prayers, and having participated in the sacrament, the whole thing is concluded with thanksgiving².

Augustine does not specifically say whether he means that this thanksgiving was in the form of a hymn or psalm or more in the form of a collect such as perhaps the Prayer of Symeon the New Theologian which we find today in the Byzantine liturgy.

A second passage which to the Reformers showed clearly that the early Christian celebrations of the Lord's Supper ended with a prayer just as it had begun with a prayer is in Tertullian's *Apologeticum* XXXIX, 17-18. Not only does Tertullian tell us of a Post-communion Prayer, he mentions the singing of hymns and psalms and reading of Scripture during the Communion as well. Some liturgical scholars today would insist that what Tertullian describes is an agape, not a celebration of the Lord's Supper. The Reformers seem to be under the impression that it was the Lord's Supper³.

¹ The Reformers might also have learned about the Post-communion Thanksgiving from Dionysius who gives us a rather full account of this prayer as it was toward the beginning of the sixth century. *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, III, 14-15.

² Epistle, CXLIX, 16. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto Sacramento, gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apostolus. (PL, XXXIII, 637).

³ We have already spoken of the use of this passage made by Zwick in defending the singing of hymns other than psalms. Oecolampadius also made use of this passage in regard to the Dismissals.

The third passage is found in John Chrysostom's sermon on the account of the Last Supper according to the Gospel of Matthew. For the same reasons which we have mentioned before, we feel that these sermons on Matthew were especially influential on Zwingli, Capito, Hedio and those Reformers who were associated with them, because in the opening days of the Reformation they had preached a *lectio continua* on the Gospel of Matthew, and in preparing these sermons they had used Chrysostom's commentary on Matthew. In commenting on the text, "And when they had sung a hymn they went out to the Mount of Olives," John Chrysostom says:

"And when they had sung an hymn, they went out unto the Mount of Olives." Let them hear this, as many as, like swine eating at random, rudely spurn the natural table, and rise up in drunkenness, whereas it were meet to give thanks, and end with an hymn.

Hear this, as many as wait not again for the last prayer of the mysteries, for this is a symbol of that. He gave thanks before He gave it to His disciples, that we also may give thanks. He gave thanks, and sang an hymn after the giving, that we also may do this selfsame thing.

What gave this passage such weighty authority with the Reformers was the logic of its exegesis. When the Reformers read this passage, in those years immediately before there was any change in the liturgy, it must have suggested an improvement that could be made in the Roman Mass, which at the time rather tended to underplay the Post-communion Thanksgiving. The Reformers gradually increased its importance. Surely these patristic passages did their part in encouraging this development.

E. BENEDICTION¹

Just as the service begins with the invocation of the name of the Lord, so it is concluded with a threefold benediction in the divine name. The Genevan Psalter of 1542 tells us that it is "according to our Lord's appointment" that the Aaronic Benediction is given to the people at their departure².

The LORD bless you and keep you.

The LORD make his face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you.

The LORD lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace.

Except for this rubric which grounds the liturgical practice in the blessing which Jesus gave his disciples at the time of the Ascension (Luke 24:50), we find very little direct comment on this liturgical usage by the Reformers themselves³.

1. The Meaning of the Benediction

One way in which we can perhaps come to an understanding of how the Reformers felt about the liturgical use of the Benediction is to consult their commentaries on various Biblical benedictions. The commentaries of Pellikan, Bul-

¹ From the extensive bibliography which could be drawn up on this subject we have found the following most helpful.

L. Brun, *Segen und Fluch im Urchristentum*, (Oslo, 1932).

W. Dürig, "Der Entlassungssegens in der Messfeier," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* (1961), XIX. (Hereinafter referred to as "Der Entlassungssegens").

A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter* (2 vols.; Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909). (Hereinafter referred to as *Die kirchlichen Benedictionen*).

F. Horst, "Segen und Segenshandlungen in der Bibel," *Evangelische Theologie*, VI, (1947-1948).

J.A. Jungmann, MS, II, 529-535 and 544-554.

² Thompson, LWC, 203.

³ It is curious that neither Luther, nor those who followed him, ever seem to have employed the Apostolic Benediction (II Cor. 13:14) or any of the other New Testament Benedictions (Romans 15:33; Galatians 6:18; Philippians 4:7; I Thessalonians 5:23; and Hebrews 13:20-21).

linger and Calvin we have found most helpful¹. Calvin himself in explaining Christ's benediction of his disciples in Luke 24:50 mentions Melchisedech's benediction of Abraham, the benediction in Psalm 118:26, and the Aaronic Benediction². Of particular importance in understanding the Reformed liturgical Benediction is the story of Balaam's benediction of Israel and the benediction in the Book of Genesis by which the patriarchs conveyed from one generation to another the unique promise of election which God had given to their race³. We must be careful to remember that although it is often hard to escape the impression that the Reformers in commenting on these Biblical benedictions have indeed their liturgical Benediction in mind, it is not explicitly stated. With this reservation we would suggest the following ways in which the Reformers understood the Benediction at the close of their service of worship.

First, the Benediction is a traditional way of parting. To regard it as simply that would be unfortunate. The text of the Aaronic Benediction itself obviously implies more than a polite parting wish. Melchisedech's blessing of Abraham (Genesis 14:19) as Christ's blessing of the children (Mark 10:13-15) obviously cannot be understood in terms of a parting wish. Christ's benediction of the children is for Calvin almost as serious as their baptism⁴.

Second, the Benediction is a prayer of intercession, but as Calvin often points out it is more than simply a prayer of intercession. It is a prayer of intercession by someone whom God has sent to proclaim that God has granted that very benediction for which the minister of the benediction prays. On several occasions in the Bible men appear who are above all the ministers of a benediction. For example Melchisedech, Balaam and Simeon. Calvin tells us in relation to Jacob's benediction of Ephraim and Manasseh that God commissioned Jacob to bless his grandchildren and that Jakob was the legitimate

¹ K. Pellikan, *Commentaria bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac catholica* (2 vols.; Zurich: C. Froschour, 1532-1533). (Hereinafter referred to as *Commentaria bibliorum*).

H. Bullinger, *In luculentum et sacrosanctum Evangelium domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Lucam, Commentariorum lib. IX* (Zurich, 1546).

² CR, LXXIII, 827.

³ CR, LI, 203.

⁴ CR, LXXIII, 534-536.

⁵ CR, LII, 461; CR, LXXIII, 827; CR, LI, 203. Particularly interesting is Calvin's remark on Jerome's translation of Numbers 6:27: "Et ponent nomen meum. Recte quidem vertit Hieronymus: Invocabunt nomen: sed quia emphatica est hebraica loquutio, eam retinere malui.

minister of benediction¹. The Benediction is also more than a simple prayer of intercession because it is concerned with a very special blessing. It is concerned with that spiritual blessing which God gave to Abraham and to his seed forever and which the patriarchs handed down from one generation to the next, which was celebrated in the temple and which the Christian Church understands as its heritage in Christ². " . . . that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith," (Galatians, 3:14; cf., Ephesians 1:3).

Third, the Benediction is in a very special sense God's Word³. This we find with particular clarity in the story of Balaam⁴. Calvin calls it an efficacious attestation of the grace of God which is performed by the priests in accordance with God's command as being from his own mouth⁵. It is a proclamation of grace which the people receive by faith⁶. In other words, it might better be classed as a type of sermon than as a type of prayer.

Fourth, the Benediction, as we see from the story of Balaam (Numbers 22:24) is spoken in the power of God's Spirit⁷. It is the power of the Holy Spirit which leads Isaac to bless Jacob⁸. In Jacob's benediction of his grandsons it is the Holy Spirit who presides over the whole scene and gives the patriarch the clarity to see the destiny of his progeny⁹.

Fifth, the Benediction is to be given by those who have been commissioned to give the Benediction¹⁰. Nevertheless, it must be clearly said that we have not found a specific statement that the Reformers reserved the saying of the Benediction to the Gospel ministry however much the remarks of both Pellikan

¹ CR, LI, 583.

² CR, LI, 203, 583, and CR, LXXIII, 287.

³ Pellikan, *Commentaria bibliorum*, I, fol. E4^r.

⁴ CR, LIII, 283-284.

⁵ CR, LII, 460.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ CR, LIII, 288.

⁸ CR, LI, 375-376.

⁹ CR, LI, 583.

¹⁰ CR, LI, 203; CR, LI, 583; CR, LIII, 268; CR, LXXIII, 827.

and Calvin seem to point in this direction¹. Melchisedech, Jacob and the Aaronic priests are all considered ministers of benediction and in this they prefigure Christ "who has blessed us with all spiritual blessings," (Ephesians 1:3)². It is Christ who gives the Benediction. As the prophets and priests of the Old Testament were commissioned to proclaim the blessing of God so in the New Testament the minister of the Gospel is commissioned to proclaim the blessing which we have in Christ.

Sixth, the Benediction is particularly related to the prophetic ministry³. As a prophet whose eyes had been opened by God Balaam saw the blessing which God had bestowed upon Israel⁴. He therefore pronounced God's benediction. Through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit Jacob saw clearer than those who had good eyesight the destiny of his descendants⁵. So it is that when the pastor of the Church pronounces the Benediction upon the congregation he recognizes that it is the Church, the body of Christ, the seed of Abraham, the heir to all spiritual gifts. He sees perhaps clearer than anyone else what is the destiny of the Church, to behold Him face to face whom we now see but in a glass darkly, (I Corinthians 13:12).

Seventh, the Benediction seals the Church in the name of its Lord⁶. This of course is especially evident from the text of Numbers 6:27 which tells us that it is with the Aaronic Benediction that the levites are to put God's name on the children of Israel⁷. As the Reformers without doubt knew, this was the intention behind the sign of the cross used so frequently in the celebration of the mass. It is interesting to notice that in the text of the Genevan Psalter of 1542 the capitalized divine name dots the page almost as frequently as the

¹ It is outside the scope of our work to show what implications this might have to the Reformed doctrine of the ministry. It would seem however, that Pellikan and Calvin understand the ministry of the Reformed Church to be the successor of the Aaronic priesthood at least in this one respect. As is well known, Calvin had no qualms about accepting that in the Christian Church there is a sacred ministry.

² CR, LI, 203 and CR, LXXIII, 827.

³ CR, LIII, 268.

⁴ CR, LIII, 287-288.

⁵ CR, LI, 583.

⁶ CR, LXIII, 827.

⁷ CR, LII, 461.

little figures for the sign of the cross dot the page of a missal. This is not the least bit by accident. One might partially explain the Reformers' concern for invocations of the divine name as an attempt to recover the true meaning of benediction. It might well be noted here that for the Reformers the gesture which was to accompany the Benediction was not the sign of the cross, but the lifting up of the hands¹. In the Benediction God's people are sealed with his name. In fact the blessing given by the Benediction comes from precisely the fact that we receive his name. When God gives us his name he reveals himself to us. According to Calvin, the blessing which God gives is himself². In giving us his name he brings us into his care and gives us a share in the household of faith. He brings us into his presence and there in his presence we are at peace with him.

In summary we might say that the Benediction is not simply a valediction, nor simply a prayer for grace appropriate to the end of the liturgy, but rather the "pledge of that divine benevolence which is the source of our salvation"³.

2. The Sources of the Benediction

It is probably Luther who is more than anyone else responsible for the prominence of the Aaronic Benediction in early Protestant worship⁴. As far as we have been able to discover the Aaronic Benediction was not used regularly in the liturgy of the late medieval Church⁵. Other Benedictions were used which

¹ CR, LXXIII, 827.

² CR, LII, 461.

³ CR, LII, 461. *Nam Deus nomen suum apud sacerdotes deponit, ut in medium quotidie proferant tanquam benevolentiae, et quae inde oritur salutis, pignus.*

⁴ Luther's love for this formula is indicated in the exposition of it which he published in 1532, D. Martin Luthers Werke, XXX, 572-582.

⁵ Interestingly enough Adolf Franz in his definitive study of the benedictions of the medieval Church does not mention the Aaronic Benediction although he discusses hundreds of other formulas. *Die kirchlichen Benedictio-nen*. However, Rabanus Maurus mentions the Aaronic Benediction as the source of the benedictions of the Church. By this he means the blessing of water, oil, salt and other sacramentals rather than the liturgical blessing of the people by the clergy. *De institutione clericorum libri tres*, ed. by Aloisius Knoepfler, (Munich, 1901), 168-170.

normally resembled the blessing which the priest gives at the end of the Roman Mass today: "Almighty God bless you: The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost"¹. According to Jungmann, the blessing of the people by the celebrant at the end of the service had become a prominent feature of the liturgy of the late Middle Ages. It is only natural that Luther should have employed some form of Benediction. The usual texts for the Benediction Luther did not find objectionable, but at this early period Luther was still of the opinion that a Biblical text was to be preferred to a text not found in Scripture. In addition to the fact that the Aaronic Benediction was drawn from the book of Numbers, Luther suggested that it was the Aaronic Benediction that Jesus used at the time of his Ascension². That Luther and the Reformers that followed his example considered the Benediction at the end of the liturgy as being of Dominical institution was certainly simplified by the fact that the allegorical mass commentaries ever since Amalar of Metz had seen the sacerdotal benediction at the end of the service as a figure of the benediction which Jesus gave to his disciples before the Ascension³. That the Aaronic Benediction, the blessing which Jesus gave his disciples at the end of his ministry, and the blessing given by the celebrant at the end of the mass should be put together in such a way is not the least bit surprising⁴. The fact that the Aaronic Benediction is to be found in the Strasbourg psalters which followed, is without doubt due to the suggestion of Luther.

For Reformed theologians the fact that the Aaronic Benediction was a Scriptural formula continued to exercise an important role in its usage. In Conrad Pellikan's commentary on Numbers we find an expression of the great value that was given by the early Reformed Church to those liturgical formulas which were found in Scripture.

¹ Thompson, LWC, 89. For other variants see Jungmann, MS, II, 459-461.

² Thompson, LWC, 113.

³ *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. by J.M. Hansens (3 vols.; Vatican City, 1948-1950), 368-372.

⁴ In fact one should not be at all surprised to find others had made the same connection. Calvin suggests the connection and since he was never one for repeating secondhand insights we may assume that he arrived at the idea independently. We have suspected for some time that this connection between Numbers 6:22-27 and Luke 24:50 would be discovered in some patristic commentary. We have not as yet discovered it.

The form is given to the priests by divine revelation, and it is this form which is to be used for blessing or for praying for spiritual gifts for the people of God. Nor is any other form to be used beside that which is to the glory of God and the increase of true piety. Christ, we remember,¹ taught his disciples what rightly should be prayed to God by the faithful.

Pellikan's concern for using this Scriptural Benediction is based on his determination to remove benedictions from the category of the more materialistically oriented sacramentals of the medieval Church. As the sacramentals were commonly understood they were a means of protecting and increasing houses, fields and herds. The Aaronic Benediction as Pellikan so beautifully points out, powerfully draws attention to the true nature of the blessing of God². It is grace and peace and above all the light of God's countenance shining upon us. Here Pellikan puts his finger on what is perhaps the greatest reason for the Protestant preference for the Aaronic Benediction. In no other formula of Benediction do we find such a profound expressing of what the blessing of God means. If the early Reformed Church insisted on this formula for the Benediction it was because they wanted to protect the Church from the trivialities of blessing hounds before the chase.

The giving of a Benediction at the end of the service of worship was a part of the Reformers' liturgical heritage. The Genevan Psalter of 1542 claims the example of Christ as the ground for its observance. It was from the study of the Scriptures themselves that Reformers gained their insight into the meaning of this liturgical practice. As strong as these other sources are, there is some evidence that there was also a patristic root.

Seeking a patristic root for the benediction is complicated by the fact that there is very little early evidence that the ancient Church had a liturgical Benediction³. Those who accept a strong influence of the synagogue on early Christian

¹ K. Pellikan, *Commentaria bibliorum*, I, Fol. E4^r. "Forma praescribitur sacerdotibus revelatione Dei, qua utantur benedicendo vel optima quaeque imprecando populo Deo. Ne quid aliud optetur, quam quod sit pro gloria Dei et verae pietatis augmento: sicut et Christus apostolos docet, quid a Deo orandum sit a vere fidelibus."

² Ibid.

³ We are of the opinion that a much stronger case could be made for the antiquity of the Benediction than is generally the practice. The evidence of its usage quoted by W. Düring shows a wide distribution of the practice. There is a Benediction at the end of the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions. Aetheria shows it was practiced in Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century. By the early fifth century Gaul and Spain used a Benediction at the end of the service. To this, evidence from Rome and Africa could be added. "Der Entlassungs-segen," 206-209.

worship would find no trouble in postulating such a usage since the synagogue liturgy was concluded by the Aaronic Benediction. It is often suggested that the benedictions found at the end of certain New Testament letters were ordinarily used in early Christian worship¹. As convincing as this suggestion is, we do not find much in the way of documentary support. The first clear evidence we have for a Benediction in the Christian liturgy is for the city of Rome toward the middle of the fourth century. In the commentary of the Ambrosiaster on the story of Melchisedech's blessing of Abraham we find the following remark, "Every day our priests confer upon many the name of the Lord and the words of benediction"². At the time of the Reformation this work circulated as the Pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti*. We imagine that it was recognized as being spurious by the Reformers³. It is therefore doubtful that it had influence on their liturgical reforms.

One patristic passage, however, does seem to have influenced the Reformers in the matter. It is Augustine's letter to Paulinus of Nola which we have so often found to be a source of Reformed liturgical ideas.

Interpellationes, . . . are made when the congregation is blessed: then the bishops, as would a lawyer, present those under their care to the most merciful authority, by the imposition of hands.

(Epistles CXLIX, 16)⁴

Just what benediction Augustine has in mind here we are not prepared to say. It is not clear that it was a benediction at the end of the liturgy, but it is understandable that the Reformers would have identified it with the celebrant's blessing of the faithful at the end of the service. The fact that Augustine mentions the practice and the fact that he grounds it in Scripture was more than likely sufficient basis for the Reformers to have understood the Benediction as the custom of the ancient Church.

¹ L. Brun, *Segen und Fluch im Urchristentum*, 64-67. G. Deling, *Worship in the New Testament*, 74-76.

² PL, XXXV, 2325. *Nostri autem sacerdotes super multos quotidie nomen Domini et verba benedictionis imponunt.*

³ L. Smits, *Augustin, I*, 238-239.

⁴ PL, XXXIII, 637. *Interpellationes autem, . . . fiunt cum populus benedicitur: tunc enim antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionum misericordissimae offerunt postestati.*

CONCLUSIONS

1. The roots of Reformed worship go back to the Catholic reformers of the generation before the Reformation. The Christian Humanists of South Germany such as Surgant, Heynlin, and Geiler had given much attention to improving worship. Their pupils, Capito, Zwingli, Oecolampadius and others had already been engaged in liturgical reform before the Reformation began. It is therefore not the least bit surprising that the liturgical reforms of South Germany were not only before those of North Germany but also more far-reaching in their consequences. Perhaps at Wittenberg liturgical reform was only a secondary matter, but for the churches of the Upper Rhine it was at the heart of the Reformation.

2. The same group of men who had been pressing for the reform of worship had also been engaged in a revival of patristic scholarship. Moved by the call of humanism to return to the sources, Heynlin, Wimpfeling, Rhenanus, Pellikan, Oecolampadius and above all Jacques Le Fèvre and Erasmus had given great attention to the editing, translating and printing of the Church Fathers. Pellikan and Oecolampadius became Reformers. Bucer, Farel, Zwingli, and Calvin were the pupils of these men. Those people who were responsible for the shaping of Reformed worship were among the best patristic scholars of the day.

3. What was in the beginning the antiquarian interest of the humanists in the purer Latin of Tertullian, Lactantius, and Cyprian and the eloquent Greek of John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus became in the end a deepening of theological insights and a strengthening of Christian life. Especially for Zwingli and Oecolampadius it is clear that the study of the Fathers led to a rediscovery of the Bible. It is easy to understand that those who drank so deeply from the wells of Tertullian, Jerome, Augustine, Lactantius and John Chrysostom could not long remain simply humanists.

4. The Genevan Psalter of 1542 may be regarded as the natural product of both this liturgical reform movement and this patristic revival. As all true liturgies it was not the product of an individual reformer. Its development passed from one generation to another and its history was made in many cities. The churches of Basel, Strasbourg, Ulm, Neuchâtel, Meaux, Augsburg,

and Zurich all left their mark on the liturgy before it was introduced into the Church of Geneva in 1542.

5. The Genevan Psalter of 1542 does have patristic sources. Calvin claimed this on the title page. To decide whether this claim was justified has been the main purpose of our work. There were, of course, other sources. The Reformers emphasized the Scriptural sources of their reform. We have found no reason not to take the Reformers at their word. The Scriptural sources were indeed the most important. Beside this, one should recognize certain historical sources in the worship and life of the late medieval Church.

6. We have found again and again that the list of patristic testimonia which Bucer gave in his *Ein Summarischer vergriff* of 1548 is indeed a good indication of the patristic works which had influenced the liturgical reforms brought about in Strasbourg from 1524 to 1539. An equally good indication of the sources of liturgical history known to the Reformers was the collection of ancient Christian writers published by Kasper Hedio between 1530 and 1540.

7. The three documents which seem to have had the most influence on the general shape of Reformed worship were Pliny's letter to Trajan, Tertullian's *Apology* and Lactantius' *The Divine Institutes*.

8. John Chrysostom had a strong influence on early Reformed worship. His sermons were taken as the classic examples of exegetical preaching. The Reformers took over from John Chrysostom both his Antiochian exegesis and his homiletical form.

9. Augustine's letter to Paulinus of Nola in which he explains the meaning of the different prayers of the liturgy helps explain much of the liturgical form of the prayers of the Genevan Psalter of 1542.

10. The ideas of Augustine, Chrysostom and the Egyptian desert Fathers have had a strong influence on the Genevan Psalter's approach to psalmody and church music.

11. The Dismissals of the catechumens and penitents, especially as it was practiced in the Church of Antioch constitutes an important source of the Reformed practice of "fencing the table."

12. The liturgical texts of the post-Constantinian Church, the classical rites of the Orient, and the Latin sacramentaries of the early Middle Ages held little interest for the Reformers. The recent "High Church" liturgical movement was particularly inspired by precisely these texts. The difference between the "High Church" liturgical reform and that of the early Reformed Church can easily be understood when we remember that the Reformers gave special attention to earlier liturgical documents.

13. Being students of the Christian Humanists, the early Reformed theologians were concerned to rediscover the original forms of Christian worship. They were not concerned with giving liturgical expression to their theology. Nor were they concerned with giving an archaeological reconstruction of the past. It was rather that they understood their attempts as a matter of Christian obedience. They wanted to worship God in obedience to his Word. First they turned to the Scriptures to see what forms Christ and the Apostles had instituted. Secondly, they searched the writings of the ancient Church to find examples of the worship which had been obedient to that institution.

Early Reformed worship cannot be understood in terms of a dialectic between faith and works. For Reformed theologians faith was expressed through obedience to God. It arose from thankfulness for God's gift of salvation. The Reformers' concern that worship be in obedience to God was a concern to respect worship as an act of God. Worship that was not done in obedience to God was a mere work or human invention. On the other hand, worship that was done in obedience to God and through faith in God was an act of God himself.

Early Reformed worship cannot be understood in terms of a dialectic between law and grace. The men responsible for these reforms did not think of liturgical order as a contradiction of Christian liberty. They recognized Word, prayer and sacrament, ordered as God intended them to be ordered, as being a means of Grace. God had given the structures of Christian worship to express the relationship of faith, hope and love, implied by the new life. That is what they meant when they spoke of the Lord's Supper as a "sign" of the New Covenant. It was a sacrament of man's true life with God.

Reformed worship is not to be understood in terms of a dialectic between God's Word and man's response. The early Reformed theologians did not understand worship as a dialogue. They were not interested in any form of worship that suggested that God spoke his lines and then men spoke their lines. They did not think of God as being on one side of the altar and men on the other. The sermon was understood as the Word of God. It was Christ who fed his people at his table. Through prayers and psalms the Holy Spirit spoke in and through the Church.

If there is one doctrine which is at the heart of Reformed worship it is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It is the belief that the Holy Spirit brings the Church into being, that the Holy Spirit dwells in the Church and sanctifies the Church. Worship is the manifestation of the creative and sanctifying presence of the Holy Spirit. If we are to understand the worship of the early Reformed Church we must recognize that they went to worship not to do something for God, nor even so much to get something from God, but far more to be something with God.

The liturgical reform which we have studied was a good one because it sprang primarily from a desire to be faithful to God. If the Christians of Strasbourg, Basel, Augsburg and Geneva began to attend worship with more determination at this time, which in fact they did, it was because in the reading and preaching of the Bible they heard the Word of God. With gladness they came to the Lord's Table because they recognized the risen Lord in the breaking of bread. With joy they sang the psalms because they recognized the Holy Spirit at work in their hearts.

A reform of worship today must be nothing less — an act of faith and obedience. "Behold I stand at the door and knock; if anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me."

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